


WAR!

BEHIND THE SMOKE SCREEN

WILLIAM
C. ALLEN



What a Prominent Religious Editor says of this new book



"Mr. Allen pictures modern warfare in all its folly and futility. The fine simplicity of style and method serves to deepen a hundredfold the poignancy and power of this indictment of the war system and of those who are responsible for it. Especially is it a terrible warning to ecclesiastical systems, which have been all too easily bewitched by a false nationalism.

"Of the various volumes attempting to reveal war as it really is, I have seen none quite so convincing and convicting as this great little book. I wish every preacher, teacher and editor in the land would take it to heart. If it is not too much to ask, I could hope that every member of Congress and of Parliament might make the contents of this book the subject of earnest thought and fervent prayer. And of course it concerns vitally every growing boy—and his parents. God grant that it may be used mightily to deliver us from the curse of using these days of peace to prepare for another war! Mr. Allen has made vivid and solemn the warning voiced several years ago by Herbert Hoover, when he said: The next war will be the cemetery of civilization."

—DR. PAUL S. LEINBACH

*Editor The Reformed Church Messenger
and President of the Editorial Council
of the Religious Press of America*

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BEHIND THE SMOKE SCREEN

BY

WILLIAM C. ALLEN

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WAR! BEHIND THE SMOKE SCREEN

TO THE PLAIN CITIZENSHIP
OF
ALL ENGLISH-SPEAKING COUNTRIES



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FOREWORD

This little volume does not attempt to tell of a cure for war. There are substitutes for war if men will make use of them. I do not enter into an academic discussion regarding Force *vs.* Reason—there has been much written on that line. I do not forget that many noble men have followed the profession of arms and have sincerely believed it right to do so. I simply aim to give information as to the realities connected with human conflict. All of us are vitally interested in what immediately or indirectly affects our family, business, and moral relationships.

WILLIAM C. ALLEN

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CHAPTER I

SOME ORIGINS

Lord Haldane, English ex-Secretary of War, in his book, *Before the War* (Funk and Wagnalls), declared that the Great War was brought about by the competition in exports, commerce, and industry; the mutual rivalry of fleets; the questions associated with Africa (Morocco) and Baghdad railroad control. He says:

The ultimate and real origin of this war was a set of colossal suspicions of each other by the nations concerned.

Do we observe the same world situation today? Again there is a warning in another statement made by Lord Haldane:

The military mind when it is highly developed is dangerous. It sees only its own bit, but this it sees with great clearness, and in consequence becomes very powerful.

Among the notable books issued since the armistice we include *How the War Came* (A. A. Knopf), by Lord Loreburn, Ex-Lord Chancellor. This eminent and unimpeachable jurist, among all others, has been qualified to assign definite reasons for the origin of the conflict, but the proofs he brings forward are contrary to the propaganda

in America concerning it. The well-intentioned people who imagine that the allied propaganda about fighting for self-determination, the abolishment of secret treaties, a holy war against militarism, the preservation of democracy, the defense of little nations was correct, will receive a shock after perusing Lord Loreburn's book. The conclusion may then be easily arrived at that a few members of the British Cabinet, having bound England in a secret treaty without her knowledge, were relieved from a difficult personal and political situation by the German invasion of Belgium. He shows that neither Great Britain nor any of the powers were, according to the much misunderstood treaty of 1839, under obligations to "defend" Belgium.

Here are a few frank sentences regarding that document:

All that we did in 1839 was to sign, together with Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and Holland, an agreement that Belgium should be a perpetually neutral state. We bound ourselves, as did the others, not to violate that neutrality, but did not bind ourselves to defend it against the encroachments of any other power.

Loreburn thus tersely describes how the catastrophe came about:

It arose in the way we all know. Serbia gave offense to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, cause of just offense, as our Ambassador frankly admits in

the published dispatches. We had no concern in that quarrel, as Sir Edward Grey says in terms. But Russia, the protectress of Serbia, came forward to prevent her being utterly humiliated by Austria. We were not concerned in that quarrel either, as Sir Edward also says. And then Russia called upon France under their treaty to help in the fight. France was not concerned in that quarrel any more than ourselves, as Sir Edward informs us. But France was bound by a Russian treaty of which he did not know the terms, and then France called on us for help. We were tied by the relations which our Foreign Office had created without apparently realizing that they had created them. It may be true to say that the cause of freedom and civilization in any case required us to intervene. But this country has a right to know its obligations, and prepare to meet them and to decide its own destinies. When the most momentous decision of our whole history had to be taken we were not free to decide. We entered upon a war to which we had been committed beforehand in the dark, and Parliament found itself at two hours' notice unable, had it desired, to extricate us from this fearful predicament. We went to war unprepared in a Russian quarrel because we were tied to France in the dark.

Ambiguously worded treaties—such, for instance, as that of the above-mentioned treaty of 1839—are an underlying cause of war. A few diplomats often evolve a document which does not clearly set forth the alleged objects of the treaty and which a schoolboy of ordinary intelligence, or a plain business man when drawing up a contract, could more definitely express.

There were many reasons for the Great War. One was summed up by Professor L. P. Jacks, editor of the well-known *Hibbert Journal*, who, in an address delivered in London, January 14, 1918, said:

So long as civilization is based on material wealth, war is the inevitable outcome.

Here is a rebuke to our oft-times non-Christian and frantic struggles for material success. As we sow, we reap.

The poets who have been so swift to glorify

The broadside's reeling rack,
or to burst forth into ecstasy regarding how

. . . the long line comes gleaming on,
'Ere yet the lifeblood, warm and wet,
Has dimmed the glistening bayonet,

have almost invariably kept themselves at a safe distance while urging their conscripted and valiant countrymen to fight. These skin-saving songsters, these poetical patriots, who, with few exceptions never saw a battle, magnify the war spirit—they help to make wars.

Lord Esher, active in the English war office to 1914, in his book, *The Tragedy of Lord Kitchener*, says that the invasion of Belgium gave the then British Government the moral excuse for action which was necessary to preserve "The unity of the nation, if not the integrity of the government." Since the war the candid admissions of some

Englishmen have been quite different. It is a historical fact that weak governmental control or political discord at home is often temporarily eliminated by promoting foreign entanglements abroad. Rulers have sacrificed their pliant citizens on the altar of war in order to maintain themselves in power.

A rebuke was administered to the militaristic feeling in Australia, in an editorial in *The Age*, of Melbourne, January 14, 1920, when the editor of that widely read newspaper declared:

Men who have tasted the power and prominence that the red-tabbed uniform brought them in time of war, are loath to sink again into comparative obscurity. Their eagerness for the preparedness they advocate is not unmixed with a wish to retain their own importance.

Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, who could not be accused of particularly pacific tendencies, declared:

Gunplay in the moving pictures tends to breed the war spirit by making shooting at other people appear to be a spirited and exciting form of activity.

An army officer, who was a Boy Scout official, was reported in the San Jose, California, *Mercury*, under date of June 13, 1921, as declaring:

From the military standpoint alone, I look upon the Scout movement as of prime importance.

It needs no gift of prophecy to realize that if the Boy Scout movement is to become an adjunct of

the military life of America, we may confidently anticipate future wars and their terrible accompaniments.

Under date of November 20, 1916, a manufacturer of "Safety First" implements of warfare wrote to secretaries of Y. M. C. A.'s in America, offering to install shooting galleries if rifle shooting were added to the list of sports in Y. M. C. A. buildings in this country. This manufacturer announced that that was being done in some Y. M. C. A.'s.

Soon after Japan entered the Great War on behalf of the allies, I had a conference of one hour with Count Okuma, then premier of Japan, one of the great statesmen of his generation. He assured me of the extreme reluctance with which Japan had engaged in the conflict, giving as his leading reason the terms of the treaty with England which made it imperative that his country take sides with the allies. Secret treaties are bad. The Great War did not kill them; they create international fears and these fears lead to war.

Several years ago the wife of a well-known missionary of Tokio, Japan, when entering the Shim-bashi railway station of that city observed an excited crowd, in the midst of which a big Englishman and a little Japanese rickshaw man were disputing loudly. She pushed her way into the throng to ascertain what the fracas was about. The rickshaw man had pulled the Englishman to

the station, and the latter, desiring to be generous, gave his humble servitor more than the legal fare. The Japanese returned it, trying to explain that it was too much. The Englishman, not understanding, became indignant because of what he thought was a demand for still more money. He proffered more. This made the Japanese, who thought his honor was impugned, angry in turn. Then the war of words waxed hot. My peace-loving friend, who understands both languages, was able to set the parties straight. Both had meant well, but both had made a mistake. This simple story reveals how countries can learn to dislike each other.

I have heard how foreigners in Japan have sometimes entered shops and, thinking that the shopkeepers were asking more than they should, have deliberately walked off with the article they desired, after depositing as payment as much money as they fancied would be correct. That the polite Japanese have been amazed at such treatment goes without saying. In unjust personal relations of the nationals of different countries more often than we may appreciate can be discovered the seeds of war. Every tourist abroad may easily forget that he is a private ambassador from his own country.

Since the beginning of the Great War I have, at home and in other lands, met the strange charge—possibly it originated in America—that the

United States had been one of the signers of the treaty of 1839, guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium. It has been the honest conviction of many well-meaning individuals, particularly in the British Empire, that the United States when the Great War commenced had played the coward, had thrown away her honor and left the allies to fight alone. This extraordinary belief, largely resulting from the prejudices associated with the hectic days of war has—unknown to most Americans—been an underlying cause of anti-American feeling in many places. Especially abroad, since 1915, in private and in public, I have endeavored to correct this outrageous and false aspersion on the honor of the United States.

Finally, to meet doubters, apart from personal denials, I secured the following statement from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace:

On April 19, 1839, a treaty guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium was signed in London by representatives of Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia and Russia. The United States was not a party to this treaty, nor has it ever concluded a treaty with any of the aforesaid Powers on the subject of Belgian neutrality.

Talk war and you get war. *Unity*, of Chicago, has observed:

Some day a war between England and America may break out. When that day comes every red-blooded American will know that England is to blame and must be destroyed, that civilization may

survive. In the same way, every true Englishman will know that America is to blame, and must similarly be destroyed. Citizens of neither nation at that moment of terror and excitement will be able to recognize that the war has come only because it was carefully plotted and prepared for by junker groups in both countries. Before the whirlwind is upon us, therefore, let us make note of our responsibility for its coming.

The public little understands how investors in weak foreign countries where order is not always maintained, invest in such countries and then expect the military power of the investing countries to back up their sometimes precarious investments. These investors often expect their fellow citizens to pay the bill incurred by such hazardous enterprises—a thing they would not dare ask of their fellow citizens for similar precarious ventures in the United States.

Dr. Christlieb is reported as stating that Berlin is the most agnostic city in the world, that only two per cent of her people attend any church; that of the 400,000 inhabitants of Hamburg only 5000 are churchgoers. Dr. Rankin, in commenting on this, has remarked, "The result is a nation which is virtually anti-Christian."

Christian visitors to Germany for many years preceding 1914 observed the decline of spiritual life in that country with its accompaniment of a love of pleasure and the development of the military system. Is this a warning to America?

During a life including much foreign travel, I have observed that most people everywhere have a kindly feeling toward the peoples of other countries. But I have observed how propaganda, often of the most subtle description, has sometimes been directed against other nations. Thus suspicion is created toward other lands. Each nation proceeds to criticize the actions of the other. A hostile spirit that prepares for war is thus created.

The opinion once having been created that war is inevitable, the rest is easy. Under such conditions, governments yield to the pressure brought upon them. The real motives for a prospective conflict are hidden behind plausible excuses, because nowadays you must have your great moral slogans to justify war. Next, "leaders of public opinion," who possibly had not approved of the threatened struggle but who did not wish to seem unpatriotic, join in the call to arms. Other citizens who had seen a better way are silenced.

The governments, if strong enough, next apply conscription with its freedom-destroying corollaries of espionage and censorship. The people, often for political reasons, are kept in the dark while their wealth and their gallant boys—the best of the breed—are destroyed. Who gets the plums? Members of the noisy minority and a few others get the plums.

It may be confessed that one of the causes of

war is the attitude assumed by some—far from all—ex-soldiers, and the effect of discussion by them of war activities upon a rising generation. To illustrate: A few years ago an officer of one of the allies, in a speech delivered in one of our great cities, which speech was subsequently reported in the newspapers, told how he had been charged with the destruction of some Austrian troops, who were occupying the top of a mountain during the Great War. The allies tunneled under their foes; high explosives were placed beneath them, the wires were laid, and, at the proper moment, the speechmaker was told to, "Let her go," from headquarters. He pressed an electric button, and his enemies were buried beneath the ruins. For this act he was honored by his king. Such presentation of human conflict tends to fire the youthful imagination as to the possibility of participating in future wars.

Does war cure the difficulties which we are told it can relieve? Lord Bryce, the eminent English statesman, known and beloved in America, declared after the Great War:

This war has shown one unprecedented feature, painful in the prospect it opens. The victors bear as much resentment against the vanquished as the vanquished do against the victors. There is no blacker cloud, pregnant with future storm, hanging over Europe now than that which darkens the banks of the Rhine.

Major General Frederick B. Maurice, Director of Military Operations on the British General Staff, in a lecture in New York, is reported as having said:

As a soldier who has spent a quarter of his life in a study of the science of arms, let me tell you I went into the British army believing that if you want peace you must prepare for war. I believe now that if you prepare thoroughly and efficiently for war, you get war.

CHAPTER II

PROPAGANDA

During 1919-20, and again in 1922-23, I made trips around the world, involving much effort to create a friendly feeling between the British Empire and the United States. In interviews, conferences with leaders in different departments of life, addresses to church bodies, to clubs and others, I stressed the danger to all English-speaking peoples developing from misinformed public opinion abroad with respect to international affairs. During these trips I was almost everywhere courteously received. To the honor of the newspapers of the Empire I am happy to say that I do not know of one of them—even where anti-American prejudices prevailed—having been guilty of misquoting, twisting, or garbling interviews or public addresses. So much for peace propaganda. Now we will consider war propaganda:

General Sir Ian Hamilton, the illustrious British general, a man of many fine perceptions and ideals, has written of the shame he has experienced because of the anti-German propaganda of the war period. An English weekly speaks of a striking poster which the British Government distributed

at that period, which depicted the Kaiser, with a woman on his arm, as he stood in a hospital, mocking in a horrid way at a British officer who was begging him to let him go home to his dying wife. The origin of that poster is thus related in General Sir Ian Hamilton's book, *The Friends of England*:

Two British officers of the same name and initials were taken prisoners; one was married, the other was unmarried. The wife was dying of consumption and wrote to the Kaiser asking him to release her husband so that she might bid him farewell. The unmarried officer was suddenly, and without a word of explanation, released. He came right home. The wife died. The story went about that the Kaiser had turned down a dying woman's last request.

Here is a dispatch from London:

HUNTERS WANTED. London, January 28, 1916. This is the latest British recruiting poster. It has attracted enormous crowds:

TO BERLIN. The country is arranging a trip to Germany in the spring for a few sportsmen. All hotel expenses and railway fares paid.

Good shooting and hunting.

Ages 18-38. Rifles and ammunition supplied free.

Cheap trips up the Rhine.

Apply at once, as there is only a limited number (1,000,000) required.

German posters were as malignant as were those of England and America.

A funny story is told of how a man in Omaha sent a post card to Lord Riddle, the well-known

newspaper man of England. The post card simply said, "See Luke 19:3." Riddle went to the Bible and found his text, "And he sought to see Jesus who he was; and could not for the press."

The guilelessness with which many good citizens depend on propaganda for information when international anarchy is on, reminds us of the story of the American clergyman who was reported as commencing his prayer with, "O Lord, as thou hast doubtless seen in this morning's newspaper, . . ."

The propaganda of Jesus Christ is much safer for preachers.

The press is the great instrument of propaganda. In many countries "preparedness" and war propaganda and their unlovely sister, censorship, become the tools of unprincipled political leaders, who, with propaganda, steer their innocent peoples into war.

The Great War developed propaganda as was never dreamed of previously. Dr. Joseph Fort Newton, the eminent American preacher, wrote about the war in 1917, in his diary, published in *The Atlantic Monthly* for August, 1921:

The truth has been rationed for a long time. . . . It is a war fought in the dark by a people fed on lies.

Again he says:

Propaganda is the most terrible weapon so far developed by the war. If the wind is in the right

direction, gas may kill a few and injure others; but the possibilities of manipulating the public mind, by withholding or discoloring facts, are appalling.

A citizen of the United States who had been abroad during the same period learned something about propaganda. He learned more after returning home toward the close of 1916. Horrified at the way in which facts were distorted in much of the American press because the censored dispatches from Europe were so different from the actual situation; alarmed as he saw America being inveigled into war through propaganda engineered by the allies, he endeavored to do his "bit" by telling his countrymen the truth. As a result, angry denials, many of them anonymous, in the newspapers were directed against him. Englishmen and Canadians resident in America did all they could through defamation of him to deny facts.

Facts known in the British Islands, openly discussed in their newspapers and Parliament, about which books have been written in England, were declared by these ardent and ignorant propagandists for the allies through newspapers and their own periodicals as lies. The newly returned American then discovered that a tremendously powerful and widely extended propaganda in the interest of the allies existed in the United States.

About the time America declared war against

Germany, I stopped in the street of an American city to listen to a Canadian or British army officer standing on a motor car and earnestly gesticulating as he addressed the crowd that surrounded him. He took a flag of the United States, crumpled it in his hands, cast it at his feet with gestures of contempt, apparently trod upon it, as he loudly proclaimed that so was Germany dealing with America. I remonstrated with some of the men standing by, protesting that under no circumstances should "Old Glory" be so maltreated. But I was looked at threateningly, so quietly went on my way marveling at the extraordinary power of propaganda.

The *London Times*, November 16, 1917, and other English newspapers of the same date, published an open letter addressed by Lord Northcliffe to Lloyd George, then premier. Lord Northcliffe had just returned to England after his sojourn of several months in the United States, during which he had most successfully assisted in launching America into the war. In this letter occur these words from Lord Northcliffe:

I take this opportunity of thanking you and the War Cabinet for the handsome message of praise sent to me as representing the 500 officials of the British War Mission in the United States, many of them volunteer exiles. Their achievements and those of their 10,000 assistants deserve to be better known by their countrymen.

A part of Lord Northcliffe's letter extolling America for her fervor, which had been so carefully worked up by himself and his compatriots, appeared in a few American newspapers. But so far as I can learn, no newspaper in the United States reprinted the above quoted admission as to the great British propaganda in America. Why?

It was charged in the Congress of the United States, February 9, 1917, by Congressman Callaway, that certain great American financial interests largely influenced part of the American press on behalf of "preparedness" by playing to the passions and prejudices of the American people. Very definite details were given as to the alleged scheme and its procedure.

As far as I know, no government official or newspaper followed up these charges. But while most of the American press was dumb, while we permitted ourselves to be thus led in a hurry that we might think at leisure, our allies have since confessed and boasted as to how their propaganda at that time handled America.

Sir Gilbert Parker, a well-known English writer, said in an article on "The United States and the War" in *Harper's Magazine*, March, 1918:

Perhaps here I may be permitted to say a few words concerning my own work since the beginning of the war. . . . Practically since the day war broke out between England and the Central Powers

I became responsible for American publicity. I hardly need say that the scope of my department was very extensive and its activities widely ranged. Among the activities was a weekly report to the British Cabinet on the state of American opinion, and constant touch with the permanent correspondents of American newspapers in England. I also frequently arranged for important public men in England to act for us by interviews in American newspapers; and among these distinguished people were M. Lloyd George, Viscount Grey, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Bonar Law, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir Edward Carson, Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Walter Runciman (the lord chancellor), Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Lord Cromer, Will Crooks, Lord Curzon, Mr. Henry James, Lord Gladstone, Lord Haldane, Mr. John Redmor, Mr. Selfridge, Mr. Zangwill, Mrs. Humphrey Ward, and fully a hundred others.

Among other things, we supplied 360 newspapers in the smaller states of the United States with an English newspaper, which gives a weekly review and comment of the affairs of the war. We established connection with the man in the street through cinema pictures of the Army and Navy as well as through interviews, articles, pamphlets, etc., and by letters in reply to individual American critics, which were printed in the chief newspapers of the state in which they lived, and were copied in newspapers of other and neighboring states. We advised and stimulated many people to write articles; we utilized the friendly services and assistance of confidential friends; we had reports from important American citizens constantly, and established association, by personal correspondence, with influential and eminent people of every profession in the United States,

beginning with university and college presidents, professors, and scientific men and running through all the ranges of the population. We asked our friends and correspondents to arrange for speeches, debates, and lectures by American citizens . . . Besides an immense private correspondence with individuals, we had our documents and literature sent to great numbers of public libraries, Y. M. C. A. societies, universities, colleges, historical societies, clubs and newspapers.

I cite *The Star* (London), May 27, 1920, as follows:

The king, wearing Field Marshal's uniform, held an open-air investiture in the Quadrangle of Buckingham Palace today, and bestowed just over three hundred decorations of various kinds. . . . Numbers of the Order of the British Empire included ten ladies, among whom was Mrs. Charlotte Cameron, who received her honor for "valuable propaganda work in America."

Other British propagandists who strenuously labored to get the United States into the war have received their rewards. The *John O'London's Weekly* of London, May 12, 1923, contained an article by Lord Riddell on Lord Reading. In this effusion he says of Reading:

He was Mr. Lloyd George's coadjutor at the Treasury and later went to America as ambassador in which capacity he conducted negotiations with President Wilson, which led to America's joining the Allies. After the war Lord Reading returned to the bench, having received first a viscounty and then an earldom for his services.

The *Durban Mercury*, of Durban, Union of South Africa, of the Empire, under date of May 25, 1923, referred to Dr. J. C. Carlile, the noted divine, who it stated was visiting South Africa at that time. This well-known newspaper said in part:

Dr. Carlile also went to America with the Ministry of Information to aid in creating sympathy with the aims of the Allies; for this service he received the C.B.E. and the Royal Order of Belgium.

So even the propagandizing clergy were not forgotten when governmental honors were distributed on behalf of Mars.

It seems obvious that the allied propaganda carried on in the United States prior to America entering the Great War could not have been as effective as it was without the then unrevealed approval or coöperation of the Washington government.

America has no reason to reproach England in the matter of war propaganda. All the combatants in the World War used it to secure alliances and to fight their foes. America got into the business of propaganda just as quickly as she could before and after declaring war. But she can be wary of future complications by remembering the past.

In the face of foreign admissions as to how foreign propagandists guided America at the time of the Great War—a guidance that ultimately en-

abled some of the allies to extend enormously their territorial and mandatory areas—why does the leadership of public opinion in America refuse to investigate facts that are known and vaunted abroad? Is it because some of the leaders of America will be placed on one horn of a dilemma or the other? Is it because it is apprehensive of appearing as the befuddled victim of foreign propaganda during 1914–16 or as having participated in that propaganda itself? Should not the plain people of America be very wary the next time they are invited to enter into war?

While our citizens were liberally fed with foreign propaganda from 1915 until after the Armistice, they were also carefully fed on the same sort of stuff by some of our own leaders. We may recall that during the frenzied campaign of “preparedness” preceding the entrance of the United States into the Great War there were put forth in many newspapers interviews with leading citizens and some women who were closely allied to the financial and social life of America. Was money to be made by their families in the coming storm? When we think of the millionaires created by the war, and how the assets of our plainer citizenship were transferred into their coffers as a result of it, we can rightly or wrongly comment on the activities of some of the great financial interests advocating war. Who can withstand the whirlwind of propaganda?

The falsity of much war-time propaganda is gradually being revealed. Much more will doubtless be uncovered in the future. Thus the war-time story that Germans boiled dead soldiers to make a fertilizer out of them has recently been revealed by a certain Brig. Gen. J. V. Charteris, of England, as British propaganda. Since then Sir Austen Chamberlain, Secretary of State for War, has told the House of Commons how the story reached the British Government in 1917, how it was accepted by that government, adding, "I trust that this false report will not again be revived."

Commenting on this "Kadaver" story under date of December 4, 1925, the *Manchester Guardian* (England) has said:

One of the worst examples of the disreputable war-time art of creating atrocity stories by dint of a deft twist or embellishment of the truth was the tale of the Kadaververwertungsgesellschaft, or Carcase Conversion Company. The word is actually ambiguous, for "Kadaver" also means "corpse." The British Government now has all the authority of the German Government—which one may hope was apologetically asked for—for stating that the word did not mean "corpse" in this connection, and there ends the war-time fable of the Hun Ghouls who obtain Oil and Dividends from the Dead. There is room for much more war-time propaganda to be nailed to the counter.

Those gifted leaders, Augustus Cæsar and Napoleon Bonaparte, understood the gentle art of

employing writers to forward their ambitions. Could they have lived to the present era and seen the possibilities of propaganda as conducted by heads of governments, especially if they could have learned the collateral possibilities of the income tax, Cæsar and Bonaparte would blush with humiliation and shame. They hardly knew the first trick!

Of latter time the issue between the armament concerns on one hand, and the League of Nations and the churches on the other, has been definitely indicated. On September 19, 1921, there was published the report of the Viviani commission to the Assembly of the League of Nations, dealing with the question of naval disarmament. The commission enumerated charges against armament manufacturers, such as:

That the armament firms have been active in fomenting war scares and in persuading their own countries to adopt warlike policies and increase their armaments.

That the armament firms have disseminated false reports concerning the military and naval programs of countries in order to stimulate armament expenditure.

That the armament firms have sought to influence public opinion through the control of newspapers in their own and foreign countries.

While this armament situation has notoriously obtained in many countries, the Federal Council

of the Churches of Christ in America has, since the Great War, truly declared:

Much that is in print today is paid propaganda, and so much else is colored by partisan prejudice, that our boasted liberty seems in danger of becoming of little avail.

It is not necessary, in international affairs, to use hate-creating propaganda, unless you are expecting to attack the men, women, and children of some other land. Here is a case in point: History tells us how England secured her stranglehold on the Far East.

In 1786, a certain Captain Light, perceiving the great value to England of the Malay Peninsula, persuaded the Sultan of Kedah, with whom he had formed a friendship, to cede to England on the west coast of the peninsula an island, the consideration being a pension of \$6000 per annum. Upon that island arose the important city of Penang. In 1819, Sir Stamford Raffles, who had become a friend of the Sultan of Johore, secured a concession from that ruler granting to England another Malaysian island, upon which the great city of Singapore has since been built. Singapore is the Gibraltar of the Far East. Both cities have splendid buildings, well kept streets, beautiful gardens, and parks. Both ports are of supreme economic and political value to the Empire. The sites of these cities were secured without consultation with the government at

London. Because of this fact no propaganda was necessary. There had not been time to work up the spirit of war. The losers were army and navy men, munition concerns and profiteers of the period. Opportunity to secure prestige and peerages had been lost. The plain people of England were the gainers. Friendships may accomplish more than propaganda and force.

Even now, there are evidences of a new and dangerous propaganda throughout the world, America included, which may yet produce disastrous results. The plain people of the United States, taking lessons from history, should rebuke such propaganda applied to other peoples from within their own borders, before it is too late.

CHAPTER III

CENSORSHIP

When the history of the Great War will have been fully written, the part played by the censorship will be conspicuously referred to. No doubt the governments involved will see to it that as far as possible little of their secret activities in this line shall be revealed. Public opinion as in time of war applied to governmental action, be that action wise or foolish, must be steered for governmental or party benefit by the powers that be. The guileless masses are foolish to believe anything else. Censorship in time of war must be used quite as much to protect officials and the party in power as to defend the interests of the dear people. Just as governments do not always desire the masses to understand the wide scope of their propaganda, so do they not want them to know how much truth is withheld by the censorship. Censorship naturally becomes a vital deception of war.

Censorship during the Great War was more far reaching than many suspected. Special supplements to the *American Journal of International Law*, published in July, 1915, October, 1916, and

October, 1917, quote many documents relating to the treatment of American mails and commerce by the nations that subsequently became our allies. Here is one instance, contained in a protest from the Secretary of State of the United States, addressed to the British Government:

The Department cannot admit the right of British authorities to seize neutral vessels plying directly between America and neutral ports without touching at British ports, to bring them into port, and, while there to remove or censor mails carried by them.

This was dated January 4, 1916, but such proceedings continued for months thereafter. Commerce was much restricted. Was England to blame? She and America were simply the victims of the anarchy of war. Would America under such circumstances have been any better? We wonder.

A scientist and citizen of the United States, H. Knoche, has published in his book, bearing the Latin title *Vagandi Mos*, an account of his experiences when engaged in scientific research in the Canary Islands, December, 1915. At that time the many post routes, served by automobiles, were forced to discontinue their service because the war had cut off the supply of rubber. It was proposed to charter a vessel to bring a load of tires direct from the United States. On inquiry these Spaniards were informed by the American Government that "England did not permit America to sell tires to neutral countries." Here was a

neutral power prior to the entrance of the United States into the war, desiring to transact legitimate business with another neutral power, but deprived of its rights to do so by the government of one of the combatants. Such incidents seem to reveal how the American people through censorship were kept in the dark as to the actual situation abroad. This was only one little incident.

Many Americans recall how unwelcome during the Great War was the indignity connected with having our business and private affairs examined by foreign eyes. This was accompanied by the knowledge that the censorship might unfairly misconstrue the very best of motives on the part of correspondents. Some American commercial interests have claimed that their business was damaged by information thus falling into the hands of foreign competitors in allied countries.

What about the personnel of the censors who exercised these abnormal functions? Probably *Stead's Review*, of Australia, has thrown as much light on the subject as we are likely to obtain anywhere. Henry Stead, under date of January 24, 1920, wrote of the conscientious efforts of censors who were "peculiarly ill-fitted for the job." He stated that among the censors of Australia were a solicitor, a bank clerk, a rear admiral, a pearl diver, a civil engineer, a farmer, a chemist, a commercial traveler, a filing clerk, an auctioneer, a diamond merchant, a tomato sauce manufac-

turer, a law clerk, a restaurant waiter, besides other occupations he mentions. The qualifications of one man appeared to be that he was a musician.

These men were delegated with power to influence the Australian government to prohibit the publication and distribution of certain books and leaflets during the war. Not a few of these publications would have seemed to have been quite harmless. In the Australian advertised official list of dangerous literature appeared sundry American newspapers, also pamphlets such as *Principles of Nationality*, and *Official Documents Looking Towards Peace*; both issued by the widely known and conservatively conducted American Association for International Conciliation, of New York. How astonished some of our most distinguished Americans constituting the directorate of that organization would have been to be told that their literature was dangerous, was taboo, to the scared officials of our allies.

During and for a long time subsequent to the war, the censorship was severe in England. Thus the *Western Daily Mercury* (English) of December 21, 1917, stated that Dr. C. M. Sheldon, the eminent American author, had written a letter in which he complained of the temptations to which young American soldiers were exposed in England and that that part of his letter had been blocked out.

From an English source we learn that the power of the censor had become so great that

It is an offense to challenge militarism in any way whatever, to express an opinion against conscription, to protest against the wholesale slaughter of men . . . to advocate peace by negotiation, to apply the Christian doctrine of peace and brotherhood to the present war, to protest against the treatment of conscientious objectors, to expose the incompetency of a Government Department or the irregularities of tribunal procedure.

In the year 1916 I heard discussed with great glee in England the statement that extracts from the Sermon on the Mount had been seized and confiscated under the "Defense of the Realm Act." A friend of mine testified on behalf of a young man who was prosecuted at Altrincham, near Manchester, for distributing such extracts. The same authority, a gentleman widely known in England and America, has written:

There was also a definite case in which a Minister in the House of Commons, replying to a question, said that under certain circumstances the Sermon on the Mount would be seditious.

Philip Gibbs, the great war correspondent of the Empire, in his book, *Now It Can Be Told* (Harper and Brothers), tells of his experiences with the censors. Thus he narrates an instance of chivalrous action on the part of the Germans which, to quote him, he "was not allowed to tell at the time." His colleague, H.M.T., reviewing

his book in *The English Nation*, remarked it is clear enough "that in the next war the only place for the writer and publicist trying to be honest will be in gaol." He adds:

I think the censor, the war correspondent, and the other professional war writers, have succeeded in damaging irreparably the old uncritical acceptance of "what is in the newspapers."

The censorship has at times been guilty of very ridiculous exploits. Witness the achievement of that unsophisticated censor of England who, in the year 1916, I think, when he encountered the well-known quotation from Kipling:

The tumult and the shouting dies,
The captains and the kings depart,

deleted the words, "and the kings," leaving a very foolish meter instead.

In the year 1916, when a message of greeting was sent by one church body in England to another in America, the quotation from Paul, "Now the God of peace himself give you peace always, by all means," was held up. No dangerous Biblical references to peace were tolerated by that prudent censor. Who takes the New Testament seriously in times of war, anyhow?

On December 4, 1917, a resolution was passed by Edinburgh Presbytery of the United Free Church "protesting" against the powers that at that time had been conferred upon the censor.

The resolution was reported as having been unanimously adopted.

The English Friends (Quakers) refused to observe the censorship under the "Defense of the Realm Act." Standing for liberty and rights of conscience, some eminent Englishmen who were members of the Friends' Service Committee—that wonderful organization that has ameliorated the sorrows of humanity in many lands—were sentenced to six months' imprisonment or a fine of £100 plus £50 costs. Harrison Barrow, a distinguished Englishman, who previously had declined the lord mayorship of Birmingham, in his defense said:

In the seventeenth century, about 12,000 of our ancestors were imprisoned because of their fight for religious liberty. We desire to retain that liberty for our country, a liberty that it has taken centuries to achieve. At the present time thousands of men have gone forth to fight in the conviction that they are fighting for liberty against a nation which had exalted the State as a god to which they were bound hand and foot. We consider it our duty to endeavor to preserve our country from such a fatal conception.

Freedom of the press was largely won in England through Milton's protest contained in his *Areopagitica*, written in 1644. He himself declared that he wrote it:

That the power of determining what was true and what was false, what ought to be published and

what suppressed, might no longer be entrusted to a few illiterate and illiberal individuals.

Lord Macaulay has declared that, because of this declaration of Milton, "English literature was emancipated, and emancipated forever, from the control of the Government." But Macaulay did not foresee the liberty-destroying effects of modern wars.

CHAPTER IV

HATREDS

“War, war is still the cry—war even to the knife!”

One effect of international conflict in America was witnessed in daily talk after 1917. Some old ladies were peculiarly exhilarated. It was comical to see these ancient dames, naturally kind-hearted, sit on their porches and pour out the vials of their wrath, borrowed from the latest newspaper reports, upon their country's enemies. They lazily knitted socks in comfort and safety, as they were physically unable to jab bayonets into the stomachs of their foes. These dear old honest souls thus kept their “fighting spirit” up and manifested their undying patriotism to others who listened to their savage gabble of hate. They actually enjoyed the war.

A few years after the close of the Great War, I sat at a dinner table where the beautiful things that wealth and culture can give surrounded us. Next to me was the wife of a high official in a leading church. Speaking of the millions of German children then starving, she declared, “It serves them right!” She took the ground that the innocent little folks were responsible for the sins of their fathers and grandfathers, even for-

getting that many of the latter had been compelled to fight against their will. But her heart, up to that time, had not been cleansed of the unreasoning hatred she had imbibed during the war. Horrible! This was in America.

I was so unhappy one day in England, in 1916, as to be suffering from what an old lady called "plumbago," and my wife sought a chemist's shop with the intention of purchasing that useful German remedy called aspirin. When she asked the man behind the counter for aspirin, his bosom swelled like that of a pouter pigeon, and he impressively exclaimed, "There is no such word in the English language!"

One of the first hotels I was in when reaching London the same year had this notice at the entrance to its dining room:

Germans, Austrians, Hungarians, and Turks not served here.

This trifling incident, along with declarations continually appearing in the newspapers or heard at that time, show the feeling of bitterness which had taken hold of England. Yet what could be expected? It is true, as stated in the *London Post*:

Probably never had Englishmen of all classes so completely hated and loathed a foreign country as do the British now hate and loathe the Germans.

Yet I observed that the soldiers I met with who

had been at the front generally did not possess this feeling or nurse it to anything like the extent it was held and proclaimed by the money-making, hating folks at home. These latter had to "fight with their mouths." Some of them did it very well. A few voices were raised in condemnation of the general attitude. Viscount Bryce, when addressing the Congregational Union about that time, decried the spirit of hate directed against the Germans, exclaiming, "To indulge in revenge will be to sow the seeds of future war."

Some Christian people were derided during the same year, and ostracized by their friends when they quoted the New Testament in connection with the hatreds of the hour. I met one such man who told me that he had fled to the quiet meetings for worship of the Society of Friends because there were the only places he had found where human slaughter was not exalted in the name of the Lord Jesus! I have met many others in my own country or abroad who have ceased going to church since 1915.

The spirit of hatred was discovered to a remarkable degree throughout the British Colonies during the progress of the war. *The Age*, of Melbourne, reported a "stirring" speech made to some schoolboys in that country in favor of enlisting, in which the speaker, a leading Australian, seems to have got his New Testament and his personal ideas slightly mixed up:

When the day of judgment comes—and I believe it will—the man who died on Gallipoli, whether he was the biggest scoundrel on earth before he redeemed himself by dying—that man will be all right; but, by the God above me, the shirkers and those who forgot what we are doing for them, and what we have sacrificed for them, are assured of eternal damnation. The man who will be damned in all eternity is the man who will not go. (Great cheering.)

After America entered the war, the same efforts were made to enthuse our people in favor of prosecuting it through the propaganda of hatred, or of stories intended to produce hatred. We simply imitated our so-called allies. We were not in the struggle long enough to reach the possibilities of the hideous rage known abroad. Here is a specimen of some of the fighting as written by an officer and published in 1918 by papers in the United States. The writer, speaking of the Germans, said:

They are very cunning rascals and do everything they can to deceive us. For instance, one day this week we saw a regiment advancing toward us on our front, dressed in the French uniform trying to flank us, coming through a field of wheat, and we knew no French were in that part of the lines. Our officers ordered us to get them, and our machine guns and rifle fire were turned on them and I am sure not one-tenth of them got away. We simply cleaned up the whole bunch. The wire entanglements we ran them through were hanging full, like fish in a net,

only they were all dead. To show how fast our boys shot them, I helped strip a dead German after this particular frolic and he had thirty-six machine-gun wounds that made him look like a pepperbox. I bet they never try that stunt on us again. Again [said the lieutenant], only yesterday a Boche plane was brought down and fell near me, and it didn't burn up. I went to it and the pilot was strapped to his seat, but very dead with a bullet through his head. I got several souvenirs from him.

Stephen Graham, whose book, *A Private in the Guards* (The Macmillan Company), is quoted in this book, says of the British Army:

Endeavor was made to cultivate hate in our ranks as a useful aid to fighting quality, and many stories, as we know, were circulated about the enemy with the idea of working up a useful hate.

Again, when speaking of the army chaplains, subsequent to the Armistice:

Some notion of the new atmosphere got to our padre. The padres had for four years been preaching, "I came not to bring peace, but a sword," but now they realized that since Armistice a larger message was available. Said our padre to me one day with relish:

"Next Sunday I am going to be very daring and preach a sermon on loving your enemies."

"Not a bad idea, sir," said I.

"The padre is going to give us a sermon on 'Love your enemies,' " I said to a knot of fellows. They smiled.

War is a system which involves child being set against child, adult against adult, Christian against

Christian, atheist against atheist, members of the same denominations against their fellow denominationalists through inflaming some of the most malignant passions which the human heart or mind can possibly cherish! This has been clearly indicated by very definite expressions of distinguished soldiers. General Sir Ian Hamilton was reported in papers throughout the Empire as stating during an address at the unveiling of a war memorial, October 29, 1919, at the Chislehurst Wesley Church, England, that post-war hatreds should be done away with, that the British soldiers disliked "killing other people for several years at a stretch," but that "propaganda was necessary to harden their hearts for the job."

The *Literary Digest* of November 22, 1918, stated that a correspondent of the London *Sunday Pictorial* had this to say of Marshal Foch, with whom, three years previously, he had been staying. The General frequently elaborated this view:

War, he told me, was not an exact science. The developments of science, had, indeed, but increased the mental and moral efforts required of each participant. It is only in the passions aroused in each man by the conflict that the combatant gains strength of will to face the hell of modern war. In the end the more enduring passion prevails.

During war, the nations engaged do everything possible to excite the hatred of neutral peoples toward their respective foes. Even neutrals

become an object of suspicion and hatred. A sample of this may be found in a sermon reported in the Otago *Daily Times* of Dunedin, New Zealand (June 5, 1915), under the title of "Kaiser and President." The preacher referred to the United States, which had not then sided with the Empire, as follows:

There is a nation, great at least in numbers and in wealth, which has long prided itself upon its pacific intentions and principles, and claimed to be an object lesson in a higher statecraft than that of the sword. No doubt there is much that is good in that nation. But taking it all in all, it is a band of shams, hypocrisy, and pretentious humbug in politics, in commerce, in social life, in morals, in education, in religion.

New Zealand is a beautiful country, the home of a sturdy and splendid race. When there in 1915, I found much anger against America based on the above and other misstatements. As so often I have done in other countries, I conferred with leaders of New Zealand. In an interview with the then Minister for Defense he became so impressed with the necessity of a more kindly attitude toward America that he requested me to draw up a defense of the United States for publication in the principal newspapers. This I did, he accepted it and with a covering letter over his own signature had both published throughout the country. I afterward understood that for a few

subsequent months the attacks on the United States largely ceased.

During the same period, prior to 1917, there were many denunciations of America among the allies, but apparently censorship carefully concealed them from the American public.

The spirit of hatred was scientifically disseminated by the governments of the combatants even after the Armistice. Professor Gilbert Murray, of Oxford University, since 1920 has written:

The spirit that I have called Satanism, the spirit of unmixed hatred toward the existing world order, the spirit which rejoices in any widespread disaster which is also a disaster to the world's rulers, is perhaps more rife today than it has been for over a thousand years.

Here is only one incident, selected from the many available, showing that Gilbert Murray was right. It has been declared that since the Armistice about 120,000 refugees were deported by the French government from Alsace-Lorraine. I met in London a woman who gave me some details of the awful conditions associated with the unfortunate German families who were compelled to leave their homes, frequently at twenty-four hours' notice. They were not permitted to take anything with them except such goods as they could carry on their backs. They were often robbed and mobbed en route until they reached the German border. Even the food was taken away

from them as they left their homes, so terrible was the post-war hatred against them.

I have in my possession many stories to prove that "a war to end war" only leads to resentments and fears which prepare the way for future strife.

General Smuts, for years Premier of South Africa, is recognized as one of the great statesmen of the world. When speaking of the late General Botha's noble and magnanimous character, he recalled an incident at Versailles when the German representatives were signing the Treaty of Peace. Said Smuts:

In the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, on June 28, the German representatives were called on to sign the Peace Treaty with its inevitable humiliation. General Botha surveyed the scene, and wrote on his agenda paper the following words:

"God's judgments will be applied with justice to all peoples under the new sun, and we shall persevere in prayer that they may be applied to mankind in charity and peace and a Christian spirit."

At the Paris "Peace Conference" Smuts was the one statesman who uttered a genuine Christian manifesto on behalf of righteousness and the forgiveness of foes. The stupendous grab and greed of that period, when mandates, indemnities, and great territories were fought for and distributed, did not blind him to the need of the hour. In a conversation I had with General Smuts in Cape Town, in 1920, he in part said:

Never has there been so much hatred in the world—never have people everywhere hated one another so much—never has hatred been so great and so deep. I know all about it. If the ministers of the gospel would cease preaching so much about personal salvation and think of the salvation of the world, they would help deliver the world from the mess it is in and not only save others but save themselves. The preachers should, with a broad view, preach the Gospel of love and forgiveness. That is the need of the world today.

If, as so many declare, Christianity for years has failed in its obligations to humanity, may we not be glad because some British and American generals have pleaded for the Gospel of forgiveness and peace?

The late Dr. William Austin Smith, editor of *The Churchman*, of New York City, is quoted as saying:

I have heard Christian women say that every German baby ought to be killed. How long will the descendants of the Apostles permit politicians and diplomats to tell them when and how they should abrogate the gospel, teach a new commandment of hate, and bless rapine and murder? Why should not the Church exhibit some of its expert knowledge?

The *Manchester Guardian*, in an editorial dated December 12, 1925, said:

The best hope of avoiding war is to dwell on its beastliness rather than on its visionary refinements.

Absolutely true!

CHAPTER V

DECEPTIONS

The deception practiced by some of the countries during the Great War, when inveigling other powers into alliance with them, was extraordinary. Very soon after America entered the conflict, admissions were made as to the deceptions practiced upon her in connection therewith. Few Americans to this day admit they were bamboozled at that time. The United Press staff correspondent, Webb Miller, under date of May 25, 1917, soon after America declared war, from Washington, D. C., sent out a dispatch as follows:

Russia is out of the war as far as military power is concerned, for at least two years; France is about at the end of her man power.

These are the cold facts about the war situation as seen today by military men who are in a position to know conditions by reason of intimate knowledge of American observers' reports.

The west front struggle, the experts say, has been misinterpreted and unreliably reported either through the allies' unwillingness to let real facts be known or to ignorance of the exact affairs on the part of American newspapers.

These men declare that for many months the American people have been led astray as to the real situation. The allies, they declare, are not making the headway that the country has been led to believe they are. . . .

There has been much talk of the nation's apathy. That this will be overcome when blood begins to spill is the main hope of military men, who say frankly that the country's interest, up to the present, has been insufficient, as shown graphically by recruiting figures, slowness to subscribe to Liberty bonds, and other signs. The selective service system will get the men, but the spirit must be aroused, the experts hold.

Here was the truth in a nutshell. First the activities connected with securing America as an ally, next the hope that when blood once commenced to spill, the war excitement would be aroused, so that the public dislike of entering the war as indicated by failure to subscribe to Liberty bonds and other signs would cease. Next, the selective draft system would secure the men as the Government demanded. This witness told the truth; but we may recall that men who honestly told facts were thereafter silenced soon and threatened with espionage, abuse, and prison.

Since the war, I have been told from honest and reliable sources that sometimes ammunition dumps were placed close by hospitals so that the hospital flags would protect them from airplane raids. As a consequence, when enemy airmen bombed the dumps they at times struck the hospitals. From such situations were amplified statements that enemies were, contrary to the "laws of war," attacking hospitals. No doubt if we knew the other side of the story, the other com-

batants were no better. What about the *Lusitania*? What about sneaking up to big ships and drowning people like so many rats? What about tunnelling under your enemies and blowing them to atoms? What about the deceptions of spying?

During my trip around the world in 1922-23, I addressed many church bodies. Everywhere I discovered an ignorance, based on inaccurate or garbled so-called international "news" in some, not all, of the newspapers. Anything that could be distorted or twisted so as to make my own or other countries appear to be greedy, foolish, or unjust, was often published with that end in view. By playing on the prejudices of the peoples, some newspapers posed as the loyal defenders of their own countries, and that suited their readers. So the message of deceit was spread.

A widely known minister told me of some of his trying experiences during the Great War because he could not engage in reviling his enemies from the pulpit. Once he preached on "Reprisals" to a congregation in Scotland, referring to the fact known among all intelligent people at that time that savage reprisals were practiced by all the combatants in Europe. After the service, one of his elders entered the vestry and with passionate countenance exclaimed, "If I had been two pews nearer I would have thrown my Bible at you!"

I have been told by ministers of the gospel, in different countries, that they had been deceived

by the propaganda associated with the Great War. They since have confessed that they were misled when preaching to their people about, "the glory of the sacrifice," and urging their young men into a conflict which, they had since learned, had its deep-seated root in the greed and pride of men—the antithesis of the gospel they profess. Not a few of these ministers have subsequently admitted that many of their young men had been spiritually starved out of the churches and, since the exercise of a war-preaching ministry, have had no church home.

Self-deception about war among church people is probably the cruelest deceit of all.

CHAPTER VI

ACTUAL CONFLICT

This chapter does not impugn the character of the soldier who may honestly feel that he is doing his duty and who makes fearful sacrifices when doing so. We may commend his patriotism while the patriotism of those who seize his body, send him to battle, making money or fame out of his activities, may be condemned.

When in South Africa in 1920, I met a gentleman who told me about a young man of his acquaintance who had been out for his first bayonet drill. As the sergeant instructed him how to thrust his bayonet into the vital parts of men, and cut and stab his enemy while charging upon the dummy that was before him, the sergeant, observing that the lad was somewhat squeamish, called out, "Now, boys, you must forget all that you ever learned in Sunday school." When this young man came back from the war, he confessed to my friend that after he had killed his first man he felt no horror when doing so again. He had been a churchgoer, and in Sunday-school work before entering the army, but afterwards showed no interest in religious matters. I have heard of many such over the world since 1918.

Stephen Graham, in *A Private in the Guards* (The Macmillan Company), tells a story about barrack life which, without being hypercritical, should be humiliating to every professor of the religion of Jesus Christ. He shows that the intent of military discipline was to break down individual self-respect through all methods of bullying and intimidation that can possibly be applied. Oaths, obscene language, and abuse were frightfully in evidence. He states, "Nearly everyone plumps down to an animal level." Graham says of the training camp:

The best of the training at Little Sparta was the bayonet fighting, in which for a moment one did feel some glamour of the barbaric nobility of war. To stand on guard, to make our points and parries and lunges, to charge shouting, to place a foot on the prostrate foe, withdraw the blade and rush forward again, watching and threatening, fearful and yet terrible It is more appalling to be killed by the bayonet because of the psychological terror of suddenly seeing your enemy intent on your death, with fury in his face. I heard of a curious case lately. A machine gunner, who was a good Christian was for some reason or other returned to the ordinary ranks when the M.G. division was formed, and he began to do bayonet fighting under a guards' instructor. As he listened to the actualities of the drill he was much upset:

"At the stomach point!"

"In, out, on guard!"

"Long point and short point following!"

"At the left nipple and right groin, point! Cross over! Jab position ready! At the throat, jab!"

He began to be greatly troubled by a conscientious doubt that had not crossed his mind in the swaying of the machine gun.

In 1916, I was talking to an English nurse—a member of a noble band—at that time engaged in a military hospital. In the course of conversation, she incidentally remarked, "We have a great many men there without legs." Her tone was quite matter of fact. A British nurse, in the antipodes, told of the many young men who, while waiting in Egypt to proceed to the Dardanelles, indulged in excesses which, as she expressed it, made them "rotten."

A dispatch in a London daily paper during 1917, makes this reference to a "push" at the front:

We did not use gas in the attack, but every other known form of offensive weapon I think we did supply, including a new horror known in the army as "oil cans" or "boiling oil."

Meanwhile, at that time I daily met church people who every morning eagerly scanned their newspapers and rejoiced over the latest reported "push" on their foes.

A *London Mail* correspondent, during the war, was responsible for the following:

The French Red had found the body of a dead German soldier. The victim's tunic was already

open, as is the habit with our brave "Tommies." I unfastened some more buttons. Must I spoil this story? Let me out with it all in truth—a huge rasher of bacon fell from his breast, and as we raised his shoulders there fluttered out a letter—greasy with bacon and rapidly taking on another color from his welling wound. "May we look at the letter?" The doctor gives consent. Just an ordinary letter. It ran thus: "My Dearest Heart—When the little ones have said their prayers, and prayed for their dear father and have gone to bed, I sit and think of thee, my love, and I think of all the old days when we were betrothed, and I think of all our married life. Oh! Ludwig, beloved of my soul, why should people fight each other? I cannot think God would wish it . . ." "I do not think you need read any more," said the doctor.

"Nor do I," was my reply. You will not believe it, but hardened to war from my youth, I could only toy with my rough meal at night, and in my slumbers I kept hearing the simple words, "My Dearest Heart—When the little ones have said their prayers, and prayed for their dear father and have gone to bed, I sit and think of thee, my love." I wonder if the great war lord has been troubled in this way recently?

No doubt many of us have read of the exploits of a certain sergeant in the American Army in France, who has been called the greatest hero of the war. The following is from the public press. In the Argonne Forest we are told:

Throwing himself flat on the ground, he began with repeating rifle and automatic revolver. After

he had killed about twenty-five, the others shouted "Kamerad," and he marched one hundred thirty-two, including the major and three lieutenants, back to the American lines. He was decorated in the presence of the army, and, at the request of his general, Congress awarded him the rare Congressional Medal of Honor. He was entertained at the Waldorf-Astoria, was the guest of honor at a banquet at which generals, admirals, state and national officials, historians and poets vied with each other to honor him. Congress gave him a tremendous ovation when he visited Washington.

In another case it was claimed that altogether a soldier killed nineteen men in two hours. Why should we blame him? He was legally authorized to do so. When the gentle folks at home sanction the system of war, they perforce participate in such activities.

Harry Emerson Fosdick, in a sermon, has said:

One of our young men came back from France and, like many others, would not talk. One day his father took him apart and rebuked him for his silence. "Just one thing I will tell you," he answered. "One night I was on patrol in No Man's Land and suddenly I came face to face with a German boy about my own age. It was a question of his life or mine. We fought like wild beasts. When I came back that night I was covered from head to foot with the blood and brains of that young German boy. We had nothing personally against each other. He did not want to kill me any more than I wanted to kill him. That is war. I did my duty in it, but for God's sake do not ask me to talk about it. I want

to forget it." My friends, that *is* war—the quintessence of it at the central point of its self-revelation. There is nothing glorious about it any more.

In 1920, the fellowships of travel led me for a time into intimate contact with a young man who had been in one of the armies fighting the Moslems during the Great War. The conversation led to treatment of prisoners. He said, "We had to kill them sometimes." I asked, "How did you do it?" He replied, "We bayoneted them." His face twitched at the accursed memory. Then he added:

There was nothing else to do. We were small in numbers and pushing ahead, we had to go forward, we dared not leave prisoners behind, we could not spare men to guard them, we had to kill them.

Were Germans or Turks any better?

Hamilton Fyfe was a war correspondent who served on five fronts and followed his profession from the very beginning until very nearly the end of the Great War. Lord Northcliffe once introduced him to an American audience. The following quotation is from his *The Making of an Optimist* (Allen and Unwin, London):

War brutalizes everyone who comes within its influence. How can it be otherwise? Is not the dyer's hand subdued to that it works in? Men who are ordered to take no prisoners, or kill their prisoners in cold blood (and that was done by every combatant in the war), men who are told by their officers

to "put the fear of God" into the enemy by barbarities too appalling to describe—how should they be anything but brutal? It is the whole object of military training to make them so.

All who have been in battle or in the neighborhood of vast slaughters know how quickly the mind becomes callous to the sights and sounds of suffering and death. The first cart of dead that I saw in August, 1914, filled me with pity and shame. The stiff limbs that stuck out in all directions from the mass of corpses, the hands which seemed lifted in mute protest, the white faces with closed or terribly wide-open eyes, sent a shudder through me. In a few days I paid no more heed to a cart of dead bodies than to a cart of mud.

Sir Philip Gibbs, in his book, *Now It Can Be Told* (Harper and Brothers), when speaking of the scenes associated with the battle of the Somme, says:

I saw many other butcher shops in the years that followed, when there was a great carving of human flesh which was of our boyhood, while the old men directed their sacrifice, and the profiteers grew rich, and the fires of hate were stoked up at patriotic banquets and in editorial chairs.

Bitter has often been the comment of the army medical corps as they have worked over ghastly wounds and pulped human flesh.

When in England in 1920, I found that not a few high-minded citizens of the Empire were exceedingly distressed because of the methods of warfare employed against the Mohammedans or tribesmen of the Indian frontier and against the

Arabs in Mesopotamia. A Colonial paper under date of November 27, 1919, had the following dispatch in connection with the Mashuds suing for peace:

Allahabad, November 25, 1919. A few sections of the Mashuds have asked for peace, as the result of daily air raids, but have been informed that till there is a general agreement among the tribesmen to submit to our terms, no overtures can be entertained. Meanwhile the bombing of villages continues, and will probably be further intensified in the near future. The operations show that the Air Force proved the decisive factor in the frontier campaigns; achieving victories which a punitive force could only gain after severe losses.

I have heard tales of a similar character from Mesopotamia where, according to the admission of British newspapers, the object of the war upon the unfortunate Arabs was to secure oil. But what can the Moslem men, women, and children of these villages think of Christianity when its exponents—no better than their own fierce warriors—kill and lacerate their women and children in order that the men may be brought to terms?

The famous *Manchester Guardian* (England) on August 15, 1924, editorially stated:

The Air Ministry has issued an official paper on the conditions under which the air arm is used against refractory tribesmen in Iraq, and probably the same account could be given of its use on the Northwest Indian frontier. . . . So much may

be admitted; but there is one point of great importance with which the Air Ministry fails to deal. A bombing airplane cannot discriminate between combatants and non-combatants, between the tribesmen and their women and children. If we could always be sure that rebellious tribesmen exhibited themselves neatly on camps as a target for the Air Force the matter would be comparatively simple. But if they stay in their villages and the airmen bomb the villages, it is impossible, unless the villages are deserted, to avoid promiscuous slaughter. That has always been, and still is, the principal objection to the employments of the air arm against refractory tribes."

Not a few of the soldiers engaged in such campaigns have hated their job. Here is a part of a letter published in a London newspaper, June 24, 1920, written by a soldier in Mesopotamia:

Glad to learn that someone remembers me. You ask for some details of my wanderings. Well, I can describe this best in one word—Hell! This country possesses nothing in the way of interest, its only asset being the oil wells, which explains why the troops are here, starving and rotten with disease. Men die here daily and are buried like dogs. In the prison here are men undergoing two years' and five years' imprisonment for simple military crimes. That, apparently, is the tribute of a grateful nation, and yet you talk of God. He does not exist in Mesopotamia; the only gods we know here are the little tin gods of the War Office. If only the general public of England knew one half of the deeds committed here—well, I am afraid there would be a bigger strike than the country has ever experienced. Within the

last ten days there have been three suicides. . . . It will need a lot of oil to justify this.

During my trips around the world, I have not come across a single soldier who had been a private in the Great War, who had been in the filth and savagery of the trenches or at the front, who was not ready to say that he had been misled as to the "moral aims" which had been so freely expounded to him in connection with the conflict. All these young men declared as their belief that they had been the victims of commercial exploitation and competition fostered and fought for by their respective governments. The unrest and dissatisfaction of these young men have constituted a menace to our civilization. They had lost their faith in the leadership of politicians, newspapers, and preachers.

Jane Addams, in *The World Tomorrow*, 1919, spoke of "The Way of the Cross," of the great hosts of unhappy people who fled in eastern Europe from the advancing German armies. She told that 1400 miles from the Galician highways across Russia into Asia the countryside was marked by unnumbered crosses of the dead. She spoke of the fleeing peasantry in their search for food and of how they attempted to return to their ruined homes when they found that in the east there was no food for them.

A. Ruth Fry, in *A Quaker Adventure* (Frank-Maurice, Inc.), tells of 900,000 families, in a cer-

tain part of Poland, being left desolate or in ruins after the Great War. That was only one Polish item.

The "Commonweal" of Australia had this to say, "Would you not defend your mother or sister were one to seek to outrage them?" The answer is:

Yes, I would die for them if need be, and overpower the assailant if I could, but what a soldier does in war is to kill or wound a perfectly innocent man, no more responsible for war than myself, shrinking from outrage as I do—perhaps a clergyman, or divinity student, or professor, and as sincere a Christian as I am. The policeman would arrest the criminal, but his orders are not to kill or needlessly wound. A soldier is not a criminal. The argument is false. The two cases are not parallel.

William Dean Howells in his book, *Years of My Youth* (Harper and Brothers), tells how General Garfield and he sat on a porch discussing the Civil War. It was in the year 1870, when the memory of that conflict remained vivid in the minds of those who had lived through it. Garfield told of the early days of the struggle, how he passed with his troops through a certain valley. He saw a number of men lying, apparently asleep in a meadow; but presently he realized that these were dead men, "whom other men had killed." Garfield added that "something went out of him . . . that never came back again: the sense of the sacredness of life." An eminent English poet has written:

Unholy is the voice of loud thanksgiving, over slaughtered men.

While the Christian mouths of America during the Great War were often closed by espionage and manufactured hate, there were men of the highest standing in Great Britain who stood for the principles of peace. Among them was Dr. John Clifford, the leading non-conformist preacher of Great Britain of his day. When I met this grand old man he was eighty-five years of age, alert in body and mind. I was privileged one sunny afternoon in 1920, to take tea with him in his pleasant London garden. In the course of conversation he remarked:

It is a mistake to believe that the world will obtain spiritual results or that men will get what they want through armed force. History would tell them their mistake if nothing else did so.

When I said that many churches and preachers in every country were nationalists while the religion of Jesus Christ was international, that the churches and ministers rubber-stamped the actions of their governments however hideous those actions might be, and by whatsoever motive they might be dictated, Dr. Clifford murmured, "True. Quite true."

Your average man of British descent is not only physically brave, but generally he is not afraid to tell what he believes to be the truth. In the summer of 1916, in a London hotel, I met a

Canadian officer, a splendid man, of the type so often found in the personality of the people from hardy Canada. In the course of conversation, with broken voice he remarked, "Night before last as I lay in my hut, trying to sleep, I heard 4,000 of our Canadian boys marching out to the front with songs, many of them going to their death. What were they fighting for? Canada is losing her best men."

During the same year it was my lot to meet certain individuals who knew a great deal about Cambridge and Oxford Universities. They said of those great institutions, "All our best men have been killed." It was too true. Many of the choicest young men of England—those upon whose intelligence and culture England had expected to depend—already had been killed. The strength of her manhood, those who otherwise would have been her workers, her inventors, her merchants, her orators, her statesmen, her teachers, had been laid in the dust. In battle, amid the din of artillery, the rattling of machine guns, the groans of the dying, the charges and counter-charges, any numskull—who has the wit to take aim and pull a trigger—can pierce the brain of the finest product of his race, and rob humanity of one of its most glorious assets.

Why do evil things that good may come? The Apostle Paul indignantly repudiated the doctrine that Christians should do evil that good might

come. In the eighth verse of the third chapter of Romans he declared it was slanderously reported of the early Christians that they said:

Let us do evil, that good may come.

The eloquent commoner of England, John Bright, said:

If we presume to ask ourselves, what, in the eye of the Supreme Ruler, is the greatest crime which His creatures commit, I think we may almost with certainty conclude that it is the crime of war.

CHAPTER VII

REPRISALS

In 1918 a band of German soldiers were captured by the Americans in France and escorted to the rear. They were very much downcast and asked when they were to be shot. They were informed that death was not to be their fate. They expressed surprise at this, saying they had always been told by their officers that if they were captured by the Americans they would be shot. Soon a good meal was given to them. Again they were surprised. As the day progressed, they found that they were the recipients of three meals per day. In two or three days these men came to an American officer and expressed gratitude for the kindness they had received. They asked if they could not do something in return, and were informed that they might go out unto the battle field and gather in the American wounded. They gladly acquiesced and for days thereafter faithfully performed this dangerous duty. This story proves the truth of the gospel command, "If thy enemy hunger feed him, if he thirst give him drink."

Reprisals commenced very early in the Great War—indeed, war is largely made up of reprisals,

and reprisals largely make war. As is now pretty well known, the allied starvation blockade against Germany near the commencement of the struggle, which blockade applied against the civilian population as well as against the military forces, was followed by the U-boat blockade on the part of Germany. Gilbert T. Sadler has said:

On February 4-6, 1915, the German Government protested against Britain trying to starve 70,000,000 people, and declared that they would, therefore, blockade Britain from February 18, 1915, which they did. Both sides acted brutally and their reprisals only led to more reprisals.

In connection with this I recall that in the early part of 1915, when abroad, I read in the public press a story regarding successful attacks that had been made by submarines of the allies upon vessels of their enemies in the Mediterranean Sea. As far as I know, nothing respecting these successful enterprises was published in the United States.

The *London Daily News*, October 10, 1917, reported:

Speaking at Nottingham last night, Sir Auckland Geddes, the Minister of National Service, delivered a message from the Prime Minister on the subject of the bombing of German towns. Almost the last thing the Prime Minister said to him before he left home yesterday was, "We as a nation have put our hands to the plow in this matter, and we shall see it through." Mr. Lloyd George asked him to state

that he was glad for the sake of the Government of this country and everyone in it that we did not begin this practice of bombing towns. [Hear, hear.]

"The spirit of the war lust in Germany must be exorcised," said Sir Auckland, and the magic charm which would effect that exorcism resided in the wail of flying shells and the shriek of falling bombs—bombs falling on German towns.

"I would that it had been possible to avoid inflicting that last punishment on the women and children of Germany," he proceeded, "but the brutal ferocity of the spirit which rules them has made it inevitable. Not in any spirit of vengeance, not in any spirit of reprisal, but in pursuance of the inexorable law which life lays on every man, 'Thou shalt protect thy women and thy children or perish'—in pursuance of that law let the grim work be done.

"Before the next twelve moons have passed many a German city, many a German hamlet will have heard the song of our aircraft, and have listened cowering for the bomb bursts that will mark their flight."

Sir Auckland Geddes was no more relentless in justifying his position than were other statesmen in the countries then lashed by the brutal reprisals of war. Indeed he was mild in statement compared to many others. London and Scarborough had been mercilessly raided by the Germans. Reprisals naturally followed.

Here is a letter in a London newspaper, October 24, 1917, from the eminent Professor Cairns:

We are now quite plainly resolved to do in Germany the kind of thing the Germans have been doing

in London. We all know what that is. There has not been the faintest indication that raiders were out for munition works or anything of the kind. They were out to terrorize us by killing as many men, women, and children as they could. We are now going to do the same to them. There is a sense of degradation in the speeches that have expressed this new policy. . . . But many of us think that we should never do anything of which we are morally ashamed. The only plea urged is that necessity knows no law. Is this really true? If it is true are we to follow the German nation to every depth of infamy to which it may choose to drag us in its hour of desperation? . . . The new and far-reaching element here is the striking directly at the non-combatants. Is there nothing then, deeper than necessity, nothing for which a people should stand at every hazard, believing that it is right and that the other course is wrong?

In spite of much apprehension in England regarding the "sense of degradation" expressed by Professor Cairns, the reprisals went forward.

Lord Rothermere, Air Minister, was reported in the London papers December 15, 1917, as speaking at a dinner the preceding evening and during his remarks as stating:

At the Air Board we are whole-heartedly in favor of reprisals. It is our duty to avenge the murder of innocent women and children. As the enemy elect, therefore, so it will be a case of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," and in this respect we shall strive for complete and satisfying retaliation. [Cheers.]

There were remonstrances against this fierce doctrine by many high-minded English people. The Executive Committee of the Women's Liberal Federation, representing a large body of women citizens, passed strong resolutions against air raids on German towns, protesting "against Lord Rothermere's policy of reprisals against civilians, because they consider it is unjust in principles, an attack on civilization, etc."

Has America in her conflicts been any better as to reprisals? Our history reveals that we have been equally guilty when at war.

The *Evening Standard* of London, November 27, 1918, declared that everything was ready on the eve of the signing of the Armistice for the bombing of Berlin, and detailed the arrangements in connection therewith. A statement issued by the Press Bureau (London), dated November 26, 1918, stated that during the thirteen months ending the day of the Armistice, 1918, there had been altogether 709 British air raids into Germany, comprising 374 attacks on large towns, 209 on aërodromes established for the defense of the Rhine, and 125 on other military objectives in Alsace-Lorraine and Germany. In these raids 660 tons of bombs were dropped.

The number of British air raids into Germany during the last twelve months, the report added, was five times greater than the total number of German air raids on Great Britain during the four years of war.

According to this official information the Allies not only returned "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," but they confessed to doing it to an infinitely greater degree than permitted by the law of Moses, which law with all its ferocity was abrogated by Jesus Christ. In twelve months, it was stated, the Allies five times over revenged the raids of their enemies during the four years of war: five eyes for one eye, five teeth for one tooth, five lives for one life, five mothers for one mother, five babies for one baby! War!

Is it not astonishing that cultured, ordinarily kind-hearted people who go to church once a week, who repeat the Lord's Prayer asking Him to forgive them as they forgive others, should approve of or glorify activities that carry such awful consequences—particularly to non-combatants—as results from the reprisals inseparable from war? Do these men and women think of the "magic charm," and, "the wail of flying shells" as also meaning the wail of helpless children and the shrieks of agonized women as the cruel explosives, thrown out from the airplanes by the rosy-cheeked boys of England, Germany, or America fell in their midst? Do the deeds of war create a public sentiment that turns the hearts of Christians into stones?

One aftermath of the Great War has been the world realization of a truth emphasized by Lord Macaulay:

The most frightful of all spectacles is the strength of civilization without its mercy.

Have you ever been in beautiful England? Have you visited grand old London? Have you viewed the stately English cathedrals, the castles built in the rough old Norman days? Have you seen her proud cities of the past, the great country houses of the wealthy set in luxurious parks? Have you feasted your eyes upon her dew-dipped villages in the midst of buttercup flecked meadows and fruitful fields? Have you enjoyed her picturesque old towns, nestling close to the restless sea? Have you been glad to converse with her humble folk in the crooked streets and pretty shops, galore? Have you lunched, where kindly hospitality has been extended, in simple homes where the overhanging thatched straw is cut away from around small windows of leaded diamond panes? Have you walked in the lovely English gardens between high hedgerows encircling masses of fragrant flowers? Have you enjoyed the fine culture of some of her wealthy people, who have desired to get into friendly touch with the bouyant country of their visitor from overseas? Have you, with other men and women, partaken of the hospitality of soft-voiced women as, in security, they have presided over the sacred ritual of afternoon tea? All these I have often enjoyed. But during the Great War a change came over the scene. For centuries

English troops on punitive expeditions had devastated countries far away, and England had known nothing of the terrors of nearby war. Her own security had been perfect. Then, out of the fogs, German reprisals came, a result of blockades of German and neutral ports. The English countryside and cities were raided. The physical damage was relatively very slight, compared with the experiences of other lands. But England was filled with new grim hatreds and appalling fears. Reprisals had been extended to English soil.

Earl Grey, that English peer of beautiful character, at one time Governor-General of Canada, had been born to the enjoyment of wealth and exalted social position, but did not forget his obligations to God and man. On his deathbed, during the Great War, he gave to his biographer, Harold Begbie (see *Albert Fourth Earl Grey*), this final message:

A voice from the grave often gets a hearing. That's what I am after. I want to try to make my voice sound from the grave. I want to say to the people that there is a real way out of all this mess materialism has got them into. I have been trying to tell them for thirty years. It's Christ's way. Mazzini saw it. We've got to give up quarreling. We've got to come together. We've got to realize that we're members of the same family. There's nothing that can help humanity—I'm perfectly sure there isn't, perfectly sure, except love. Love is the way out, and the way up. That's my farewell to the world!

CHAPTER VIII

PROFITS

The words "Profits" and "Profiteering" are not always synonymous. I speak of both in this chapter.

Christian Work, a well-known religious periodical of the United States, under date December 1, 1923, told the following:

Ralph Chaplain, author of *Solidarity*, at the Cooper Union Amnesty meeting the other night, told the story of a fellow prisoner at Leavenworth who was serving a cumulative sentence of fifty years. He had been safe-blower, robber, and thug and had been sentenced many times for various crimes. One Christmas, after a petition for his pardon had been presented to President Harding and it looked as if he would be released, Chaplain, who was serving a sentence of twenty years for saying that if we entered the war there would be profiteering, said to the robber,

"What are you going to do, John, when you get out?"

John said, "I don't know. What did you do to get in?"

Ralph told him.

"How long did you get?" asked John.

"Twenty years."

"Well, I won't try your job; it's too dangerous."

Profiteering and robbery were less dangerous than telling what every intelligent person knows is the truth, in time of war!

Christian Work has said:

In the Kansas federal prison were —— ——, who made rotten leather and sold it to the government for the use of the men in the trenches. They made millions of dollars out of profiteering. Millions of people not I. W. W. men know that this is true and say it. As a prisoner puts it:

"I said that what they . . . did was not right; I got twenty years for that. They got two. To go on, —— and I were in the penitentiary. After he looked around the first day, he did not like to be herded with the rest of the bunch, so he asked for a private room. He got it. The next day he told them he would like a desk in his room. He got it. He had fine food sent in and after a few days he wanted to get out in the beautiful sunshine and he got his parole. During all the time that I was in the penitentiary I never saw the outside of my prison."

L. Cope Cornford in an article in *The National Review* of London, England, June, 1923, commented upon the then recently issued book, *The Triumph of Unarmed Forces*, by Admiral Consett of the Royal Navy. This book is an account of the alleged transactions by which Germany during the Great War was able to obtain supplies prior to her collapse in 1918. Admiral Consett alleged that while Great Britain, through blockade of German and neutral ports, had control over her own commerce and that of her

allies, vast quantities of goods made in England were permitted to go to neutral countries with the knowledge that such goods would ultimately reach Germany. Admiral Consett gives numerous examples of sheer commercial cupidity resulting in the sustaining of the enemy against the navies and armies of the Allies. I quote from the *National Review*:

To record all the rascality in which the transactions in lubricants were involved during the war would require a goodly sized volume. Steamers openly left the free harbors at Copenhagen laden with lubricant oil for Germany. To detect abuses it was very necessary that the wharves should be visited; yet the Vice-Consul at Copenhagen had incurred official displeasure for performing this important duty and had been ordered not to frequent the wharves.

Cornford in his article based on the book of Admiral Consett declares:

The export of lubricating oil from Great Britain to Denmark rose from 150 tons in 1913 to 500 tons in 1915.

Copper: Sweden sent to Germany three times the amount of copper she sent before the war. At the same time the British export of copper to Sweden was doubled (517 tons in 1913, 1085 tons in 1915).

Zinc: In the first six months of 1916, 20,000 tons of zinc had been allowed by the British Government to go to Rotterdam, whence it was sent to Liege, where it was converted into spelter.

Cornford again quotes from Consett, stating that this spelter was

circulated all over Germany. . . . The ore, too, was of that very quality which Germany required in the preparation of hydrogen gas for the inflation of her Zeppelins.

Cornford states:

In 1915 this country sent to Sweden, the workshop of Germany, twelve times the amount of nickel sent in 1913.

Tin: The same story. British exports for Denmark, largely increased, were used to send tinned food to Germany. To Sweden, from this country, was sent five times the pre-war amount of tin, almost exactly the amount sent by Sweden to Germany.

Tea, coffee, and cocoa present a case even more flagrant, if possible.

Cornford, after stating that

The exports of cocoa from the United Kingdom to the Scandinavian countries rose from 558 tons in 1913, to 5191 tons in 1915,

quotes from Admiral Consett as follows:

The German troops were badly in need of beer; in order to meet the demand of the German troops we adulterated our own beer, raised its price and reduced its quality.

Cornford in his review published in the heart of the British Empire arrives at the following conclusion:

The British public, hundreds of thousands of whom sorrow for their dead, maimed, and mentally afflicted

and all of whom are taxed to the bone to pay for the war prolonged by the British profiteer, the international financier, and the British Government, will probably refuse (in mere self-defense) to believe the appalling indictment contained in Admiral Consett's book. They will ask, and rightly, how it is possible that responsible ministers could have deliberately adopted the policy described. Had the Government done their duty, the profiteer would have been ruthlessly suppressed; and the international financier, instead of being entertained by members of the Government, would have been sent about his business. . . . In whatever excuses for the Government may consist, there can be no excuse for the falsehoods on the subject on enemy supplies with which Parliament was fed; nor for the acceptance by his Majesty's Ministers of lying German propaganda instead of the truth communicated to them by honest British officers.

Investors may recall that about the time that America entered the Great War, and during the few years preceding, the newspapers contained many advertisements appealing to the cupidity of the public with respect to investments in munition concerns. I adduce one sample from the *Philadelphia Telegraph*, November 24, 1915:

Maxim Munitions Corporation, Capitalization \$10,000,000; Par Value \$10.00.

The Maxim Munitions Corporation will, in its plant in New Haven, make the famous 1904 model of the Maxim machine gun, with some slight improvements, of which the Austro-German forces had 60,000 at the outset of the war, and which

Germany for nine years prior to the war was making at the rate of 600 monthly. We buy, sell and quote the above. CHARLES A. STONEHAM & Co., New York, Boston, Chicago.

About this period circulars addressed to investors, and containing alluring invitations to invest in concerns at that time going into the manufacture of war material, appeared. I can here refer to one sample circular, dated March 4, 1916, sent out by a brokerage house of New York City. This document alleged that a company in the United States engaged in the manufacture of munitions had "confessed its net earnings of 1915 to be \$57,840,758 as compared with the earnings of 1914 of \$5,603,158." The broker's circular further said of this company:

It has expended huge fortunes in business expansion within the past months, has been able to accumulate the most supendous earnings perhaps that have ever been recorded by an organization of any character in the history of the world. . . . The company has on hand contracts carrying the non-cancellation clause which will carry business well into 1917, and whether peace overtures are made by that time or not these orders will be paid for in their entirety.

This broker's circular predicted a great future for the stock. Subsequent events have proved that the anticipated huge profits of this and other concerns engaged in the manufacture of man-killing machinery, as reported in the financial

columns of the public press, have more than been realized. Relatively a few men make fortunes, whilst the products of their mills destroy millions of the bravest boys who ever trod the earth!

When America entered the Great War (April, 1917), the *Boston News Bureau* reported:

Midvale Steel and Ordnance Co. has a subsidiary which undoubtedly bears off the palm for high percentage of earnings on the capital stock. The Worth Brothers Co. last year earned \$4,013,184 on a capitalization of \$250,000, or 1605 per cent on the stock. This volume of net represented a sixfold increase over 1915. Dividends of 600 per cent on the \$250,000 stock were paid last year. In the previous four years 30 per cent was paid annually.

The old Midvale Steel Co., which was the nucleus of the present holdings organization, earned 63 per cent on its \$9,750,000 capital stock in the 14 months to December 31 last. All but five shares are owned by the Midvale Steel and Ordnance Co.

The Midvale Steel and Ordnance Co.'s net earnings for the past five fiscal periods follow: 1912, \$670,951; 1913, \$767,931; 1914, \$416,988; 1915, \$1,617,496; 1916, \$6,080,601.

The last sum included 14 months of net earnings.

The above information as to war profits was published in the market reports of a leading newspaper of the United States which is largely devoted to financial matters. In the same issue of this paper was a suggestion that there was no shortage of hemp and lamp posts for those opposed to war!

The increase in swollen incomes and millionaires in America during the Great War should show the plain people how their money during war, and after it, can be transferred from their pockets into the coffers of armament concerns. The financial inflation that follows war cannot neutralize the actual losses sustained by the masses.

Rabbi Joseph Krauskopf, of Philadelphia, December 26, 1915, preached:

Rulers of nations, whose minds are almost constantly on armies and navies and armaments, and whose subjects are taxed almost beyond endurance for the creation and maintenance of them, rulers whose hands are stained with the blood of innocents, believe themselves most Christian of Christians. Thus has it come to pass that Bethlehem, Judea, has become but a memory, but a faint Sunday-school recollection, and Jesus, the Prince of Peace, who was cradled there, has come to be regarded as a dreamer, a visionary, an enthusiast, good enough for his natal day to be remembered, but not good enough for his teachings to be followed, although too unpractical for this practical age of ours, while Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, is regarded a town of intense reality, a town fairly bursting with activity, a town in which large fortunes have been made, and will yet be made, a town toward which are led, not by a star, as were the Wise Men of the East toward the older Bethlehem, but by the clouds from scores of smokestacks, the representatives of nations, to lay at the feet, not of the Prince of Peace, but of the King of Munition Makers, not of the Saviour of

Men but of the Maker of Means of Destroying Men, their rich offerings, in the shape of hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of ammunition orders.

When Dr. Krauskopf preached the above sermon the munition concerns of America were just commencing business!

Here is a suggested prayer that appeared in a New York newspaper, during the early part of the Great War:

Graciously permit us, Our Heavenly Father, to remind Thee that many of Thy richest and most self-righteous servants, who honor Thy Name and enrich Thy altars and Thy shepherds, desire yet a few months of war, until they have garnered the profits of their war loans and made sure of their ammunition bills. Lord, we do most earnestly desire peace, but not until Thy servants in Wall Street have finished their dealings and have balanced their books. . . . Lord, we would beg Thee to speak peace to mankind at once; but there is a chance to loan a thousand millions at much profit, if Thy mercy and compassion can find it convenient to wait a few months. . . .

Bless, Lord, Thy servants in public office, who have been granted wisdom to see these things aright: Thy servants in Washington, who have mightily wrestled with Thee in prayer, for peace, without permitting any hindrance to the business of Thy servants who manufacture the weapons of war. Lord, we bless Thee for the most excellent manner in which these, Thy servants in Washington, have combined business with piety.

Lord, continue to bless us, and in Thine own time give peace to the suffering nations. But, Lord, Thou knowest that business is business and we ask Thee to magnify Thy Holy Name by not interfering too soon.

CHAPTER IX

WOMEN

King David paid a glowing tribute to all womankind when, alluding to Jonathan, he exclaimed, "His love for me was wonderful, passing the love of women!" While men in defense of their homes have felt constrained to engage in war it must upon sober reflection be recognized that the sum of suffering heaped up without measure upon womankind far exceeds that which has been alleviated by the application of military force with its inevitable accompaniments. How often have brave men, when they have gone to war, been compelled to abuse the endearments and sanctities of home life upon foreign soil because, whether they were chivalrous or not, they were obliged to bring havoc and despair to millions of innocent mothers, wives, and maidens in enemy lands. How the noble souls and sensitive bodies of their women at home endure despair and pain, how the sufferings and tears of the sex in time of war appeal to heaven! Yet women, flung by the propaganda and impetuosity of the hour into the vortex of its passions, sometimes seem to love war! Is this correct? Yes, and no! In their God-given moments—and each of us has

such moments—women, of all the human family, hate war!

Sad-faced soldiers who left the trenches for a short holiday in England often returned to France, into the filth, the stabbings, the shootings, the mud and massacres, the unnatural life of soldiering with bitterness in their hearts and on their lips because so many of their women actually enjoyed the excitement of the war. It at least, they declared, gave their women something to talk about. There were no end of dances, flirtations, card parties, and jolly times at places of amusement in London. Meanwhile the hospitals were filled with mangled forms and shell-shocked lads whose cries too often fell on the deaf ears of the “patriots” at home. Were these brave, sad-faced soldiers right?

One day in 1920, in the Grosvenor Hotel, London, I was conversing with a gentleman who, like myself, was waiting in the lobby. He commenced to discuss the evils that had invaded his beloved England as a result of the war. His heart was full as he spoke to the American stranger. “The worst thing has been the immorality!” he exclaimed. I was acquainted with the situation, but asked what form of evil especially he had in mind. He replied, “The fact that so many women left their husbands while their husbands were in the army and went off with other men—it was awful!”

Common knowledge, newspaper reports, and the attestations of the highest officers of justice of England, who have told of how divorces increased over 500 per cent within the few years following the Armistice, and who have placed the blame on the war, tend to confirm the statement of the gentleman I refer to. It was notorious during the struggle that many women who previously had been unaccustomed to having much money in their possession were tempted while their husbands were in the army to use a large part of the allowance, which, as wives of soldiers, they received from the government, in purchasing intoxicants. I can personally testify to the shameful and sorrowful scenes around public houses in England, since 1914—ininitely more distressing than I had observed during the preceding thirty years in numerous visits to the British Islands. I refer to the poorer classes.

I have heard in one of the British colonies of a young man, who had left home happy and clean in body and mind, and who was expected on a ship returning from the scenes of action. His wife, mother, and grandmother went to the port to welcome him. He was not permitted to land because he was suffering from one of the shameful diseases that afflict so many who are peculiarly tempted in times of international conflict. I heard of another lad, who had left home buoyant and strong, engaged to be married, who was

similarly held for treatment when returning to his native land. I have heard of young men in different parts of the world who have suffered in almost unbelievable numbers as a consequence of having contracted baneful diseases during the Great War. Some found spiritual life—many others lost it—in the lack of home restraints and passions of war.

A guest in my home, a young man who had served four years with the British forces, but who had left the army an avowed peace man, exclaimed in my hearing, "Oh, if the mothers knew all. When I think of it I feel as if I would explode!"

General Thompson of the British Army, in his book, *Old Europe's Suicide* (Albert and Charles Boni), tells how Serbia, as one of the allies in 1914, "wiped out whole villages in Albania. Women and children were slaughtered in their homes, or driven out to die of cold and hunger. Nothing more terrible has taken place in any part of the world or in the early history of the war."

This was but the beginning of the poignant afflictions and indignities poured out upon woman-kind in the time of the Great War, during which thirty millions of non-combatants, largely women, children, and babies, miserably perished, many of them fleeing over burning deserts or across snowy plains from the onslaught of contending armies. It has been estimated that there were 9,000,000

war widows and over 9,000,000 war orphans. No wonder the women of civilization are demanding better ways to settle international irritations and disputes. They can stop wars if they will.

As I write, I hold in my hand a handsome post-card picture of the late Earl Kitchener, commander of the British forces at the beginning of the Great War. For years prior to the Great War the military men of Europe were exalted in the popular estimation. Their activities, talk, and personalities were constantly pictorially displayed. No profession had been more advertised. The same exaltation of military personages has increased since 1917 in America. A friend of mine, a woman well known throughout England, tells how at a certain dinner party a woman sitting beside Lord Kitchener commenced to laud war and warriors. Kitchener turned upon her and exclaimed, "Madam, it is just such women as you who make war!"

Sometimes when addressing young people on the subject of internationalism I have incidentally spoken of how war claims the most desirable young men and robs womanhood of its fundamental right to the best of the breed as future husbands and fathers of the race. At such periods a strange stillness has fallen on the audience. The young women know this to be true. I have noted a wistfulness in their faces as if they, for the sake of their glorious womanhood, craved that

the insatiable system be abolished. Shall we not help them?

Yes, we can help them. They can help themselves. Here is one way. A writer in a London newspaper, subsequent to the Armistice, criticized the war pictures with which the dining room of the City Women's Club was decorated as being significant of the attitude of the club. She commented, "So long as women can tolerate pictures on their walls that glorify war, there is little chance of getting rid of war."

The natural function of the sex is to conserve human life—not to debase or destroy it. Will our women rise to the supreme call to their higher instincts and help to build up national efficiency and happiness by upholding the things that make for peace?

CHAPTER X

YOUNG PEOPLE

When in England, in 1916, I met a gentleman who in the course of conversation said:

"When the war broke out my oldest son entered the army, became an officer and, although only eighteen years old, he was so clever that he was made captain of one of the big guns in France. At . . . he was blown to pieces; nothing was ever seen of him afterwards. I did not know of his death until one month afterwards, when I saw his name in the casualty list. I wrote to the War Department and received a very nice reply from them telling of what a 'glorious death he had, leading his men to victory,' but . . ." Here the heart-broken father faltered. He recovered his composure and added: "My other son, sixteen years of age, ran away, joined the army and against his will I got him out of it. He said to me, 'Pater, it is no use—I am going into the war—you can't stop me.' " Then the poor man proceeded with tear-wet cheeks, "He left me, is now training, and says he wants to kill the Germans to avenge the death of his brother."

The state of mind of this lad, not normal for a boy of his age, was that of millions during and subsequent to the Great War. War and revenge become inseparable to juvenile minds when driven thereto by their seniors.

At a meeting in England the same year, I heard a speaker tell of the minister of one of the churches in his town. He had been addressing a Sunday school, urging his youthful audience to purchase the one-pound war obligations then being issued by the British Government. The preacher explained that each child by investing fifteen shillings sixpence, would receive one pound therefor in five years, and that said investment would purchase 124 cartridges, adding, "Those 124 cartridges may kill 124 Germans." This sanguinary exponent of Christianity succeeded in enthusing the youngsters he was endeavoring to lead toward heaven. No doubt he would have been horrified had anyone suggested that he teach them to pray for their enemies, as his Christ commanded.

As different countries entered the Great War, there followed vigorous organized efforts to incite in the young folks a spirit of animosity toward the foes of their respective governments. Happily for America, she was not in the savage combat long enough to develop this hysteria in the hearts of her children to the same extent as obtained in other lands. Efforts just commencing in America to stir up the passions of our youth fell flat after the Armistice.

The *Manchester Guardian*, in the latter part of 1921, spoke of "the hatred burnt into Dutch South Africa's heart by the 13,000 deaths of chil-

dren in our (English) concentration camps" during the Boer War. Twenty years afterwards, when in Africa, I found the fires of hate still burning. But as a result of the Great War not just 13,000 but hundreds of thousands of unoffending children died awful deaths because a few old men sitting in safety in Berlin, Paris, London, and Washington, controlling armies and blockades, would not come to terms and willed it so.

During the early part of the Great War, I happened to be in a foreign land where, one day, the little son of a citizen of the United States came home to his mother in tears. He had been visiting a small friend of his, and as the children were looking over a book they came across a picture of the flags of different nations. "That," proudly exclaimed the American boy, pointing to the Stars and Stripes, "is my flag!" The mother of his little host heard him, seized the book and said to her own son, "When you see that flag, spit on it!" She then sent the little American visitor home. Such mothers help to make wars.

It has seemed impossible for many so-called Christian peoples after having at the behest of their rulers ignored the commands of Jesus—in short, after having been engaged in killing, mangling, abusing, and starving their enemies—to change their attitude when their governments have bid them. Thank God, there have been

some protests lodged against this long-extended orgy of hate! A London daily paper, July 16, 1920, reported a breakfast given the preceding day in London by the Industrial Christian Fellowship, the Bishop of Litchfield presiding. Ben Cooper, M.P., said he was horrified to hear that at a certain church, when a collection had recently been made for the "Save the Children Fund," a condition was laid down that the money should not be used for the relief of the German children, adding, "Unless that barbarous and inhumane spirit was displaced there was comparatively little hope."

After 1918 we became so familiar with the effects of "economic pressure," or "blockade"—call it what you will—in other words, with the starving of millions of children in Germany and elsewhere, that we have forgotten the detail of the sufferings of the little people from direct contact with war.

The *London Times* under date of June 27, 1916, contained the following dispatch:

Amsterdam, June 26. A telegram from Karlsruhe gives the following details of the recent air attack on the town by the Allies:

June 22 was Corpus Christi. The crowds in the streets were greater than usual, especially in the direction of the recreation ground, where the center of attraction was Hagenbeck's menagerie.

At about three in the afternoon news was received of the approach of an enemy air squadron. In spite

of the sharpest lookout toward the west no enemy was to be seen. High in the sky were white clouds, and mist rendered observation difficult.

Suddenly at 3.10 P.M. two explosions could be heard in the western part of the town. Soon afterward enemy airmen could be seen through powerful glasses. They hovered over the town for a quarter of an hour and dropped altogether 29 bombs. Then they withdrew to the southwest.

The material damage done was not very great, but the human loss was far more terrible—110 persons were killed, including 30 men, 5 women, and 75 children; 147 persons were injured—48 men, 20 women, and 79 children. More deaths are expected, as many persons suffered comparatively severe injuries.—Reuter.

On the following day the French issued a statement as follows:

This bombardment was ordered, as announced in the communique of June 22, by way of reprisals for the recent bombardments of the open towns of Bar-le-Duc and Luneville, which cost the lives of numerous inoffensive persons.

Did reports of such tragedies, frankly discussed in London prior to America's entering the Great War, ever reach America?

One of the bitterest aftermaths of the Great War, little understood at the time by the people of the United States, was found in the blockade subsequent to the Armistice established against the Central Powers by four old men, heads of the leading allied countries, including the president

of the United States. Millions were unnecessarily starved by that blockade, including the ricket-ridden and tubercular children of Germany, and other lands. Beneficent American people donated millions of dollars towards the relief of those suffering little folks and for two winters, under the administration of the Quakers of America, over 1,000,000 of the children of Germany were given one nutritious meal a day. Was this not a resplendent shaft of light penetrating the darkness that then enveloped Europe?

The *Journal of the American Medical Association*, July 27, 1918, had this to say about child delinquency in war time:

The story of child training in war time is more or less a story of enforced parental neglect, according to the reports that come from social workers, juvenile court judges, and students of criminology in the various European countries. Everywhere juvenile delinquency is growing, both in the number and the seriousness of the children's offenses. Everywhere the condition may be traced to the same leading cause; the father is in the army, the mother is in the factory, and the usual safeguards of the home are broken down, depriving the child of the necessary discipline and protection. From every country, too, comes disquieting news of the collapse of various social agencies that supplement the work of the home.

In England, the use of many school buildings as hospitals, the overcrowding of the remainder, and the half-time reduction of school hours have played

havoc with juvenile education. Young people's clubs have been left without leaders; school medical officers have been drawn into military service, and manual training in some of the schools has almost disappeared because of the absence of instructors. Parks and playgrounds have been closed, the probation system has suffered through the loss of many of its most experienced officers, and many children have entered industry, to become more or less demoralized by the abnormally high wages and the unusual freedom from discipline. From France come reports of the great increase of prostitution among young people, and of a relaxation of vigilance on the part of the courts and the police.

While the secular and medical authorities of America after her entrance into the war frequently exhibited concern on behalf of its effect upon child life, I do not know of any church organization in the United States that, while the war was on, gave much attention to the subject. To the credit of England it may be said that during the war the influence of war conditions upon her children was seriously considered. In 1918 the English United Board of Sunday-School Organizations issued a remarkable statement regarding the situation in Great Britain at that time. This Board was composed of representatives of the Denominational Sunday-school Organizations of the Methodist bodies, Congregationalists, Baptists, Presbyterians, the Society of Friends, and Moravians.

The report showed that there were statistics

revealing an increase in juvenile crimes of a serious nature since the outbreak of the war. Cecil M. Chapman, the Metropolitan magistrate, when taking the statistics of the police court over which he presided, found that during the last few months of 1915 delinquency in children had increased 40 per cent. He said, "War had created an excitement in the minds of the children, etc." Sir Edward Troup, Permanent Under Secretary at the Home Office, in a circular to the magistrates issued, said that he "had under consideration representations respecting the recent increase in the number of offences by children and young persons under sixteen years of age." He declared that "punishable offenses have grown in seventeen of the largest towns of England about 40 per cent." He added, "The increase in the number of juvenile offenders is mainly caused by an increase of nearly 50 per cent in cases of larceny; but there are also more charges of assault, malicious damage, gaming, and offences against educational acts."

The report of this English United Board referred to the "loss of discipline," which the writer also heard about in many places in England during the war. This condition was largely owing to the fathers being away, and to lessened educational efficiency, caused by larger classes for each teacher, part-time sessions or leaving school at an earlier age. Sir James Yoxall had stated:

Between 150,000 and 200,000 children between the

ages of 11 and 13 have been released from school to do war-time work.

What an education!

To quote the same report:

With the older boys and girls particularly, there are evils attendant upon the earning of larger wages, impatience of control, unwillingness to learn how to do things in the best possible way, and the rush to amusements which have the same general tendency. There is an unsettled state of mind leading to a desire for adventure, for excitement, with its attendant impatience with ordinary tasks and with discipline, accompanied by a great increase in truancy.

Again:

The type of patriotism too often presented to the children is narrow and self-satisfied. Religion has become the handmaid of the Allies. To sum up briefly: the virtues of economy, generosity, etc., that have been evoked among the pupils have been entirely subordinate to the major military purpose. Militarism has emphatically made a deep impression upon all young minds.

In one of the larger cities of Australia, after I had addressed a group of ministers on the subject of international peace and the importance of friendly relations between America and the British Empire, one of them in open meeting asked:

Mr. Allen, what would you do if you were in my case? I have two boys who are just now being called up for training. I am conscientiously opposed to their taking military drill, but the law is so arranged

that if I do not permit them to drill, punishment is taken out of the boys. They suffer and must go to prison for my conscience. What would you do?

I could only tell him that it was necessary for me, not being a citizen of Australia, not to interfere with their laws, but that generally speaking, no advance can be made toward any reform until people are willing to take a bold stand against what they believe to be wrong. Twice during the Great War, Australia had referendums as to conscription for its army, and in both cases voted it down.

In beautiful Adelaide, Australia, I one day noticed about sixty boys being drilled in a field near our hotel. The youngsters moved in a cowed fashion like so many sheep at the behest of a young officer who strutted around with a walking stick while menacingly shouting his orders. The hour was about eleven o'clock. "Are these boys taken from their work to drill?" I asked of two young men who were standing near me. "Yes," responded one with an oath, "and it is a shame!"

A lady informed me that when the military authorities took over the show grounds at Mount Barker, South Australia, for the use of the Boys' Cadet Camp the discipline among the lads was hopeless.

Her statements indicated that the much vaunted value of camp life with military discipline for lads

is subject to peril. She said, "The boys would have been better off at home."

I have not found that the discipline, morals, or manly strength of boys is improved in the few countries that give them military training.

In 1916 I heard of an English Christian lad, eighteen years of age, a splendid fellow, who, detesting his future job, exclaimed, "I am getting ready to kill some other boy, and I hate it!" Yet his relatives and friends urged him to do what his conscience forbade him doing.

Young people are by nature internationalists. They delight in learning about other countries. They love to hear stories of deeds of courage. Every high school has its youthful leaders; these youngsters generally are idealists. For this we may be glad. To illustrate: When I have told groups of young folks about travel experiences, including visits to leper settlements, and have spoken of the leper hospital near Pretoria, South Africa, where I found 900 patients, nearly all negroes, whose hideous sores were dressed by twenty-four white women who worked in rooms reeking with carbolic, my audiences have been filled with amazement and admiration because of the heroism displayed. In times of peace there are great battle fields where human bravery can relieve, not mar, the bodies and souls of men.

If we teach our young people that there is no grip like the grip of friendship, fair dealing, and

love, that our splendid America, or splendid England too, is to hold forth the emblems of light, liberty, and justice, that spiritual assets constitute the only positive basis for material advancement and strength, then our home life shall reflect an exalted patriotism, our international relations shall exhibit equity, our national safety shall more perfectly be secured.

CHAPTER XI

NON-CHRISTIANS

In 1915 Sir James Allen, Minister for War of New Zealand, told me the following story regarding the Maoris, the aborigines of that country.

Years ago the Maoris rebelled against the English after the latter had taken possession of New Zealand. Of course, the aborigines felt that they were fighting for their liberty, while the English regarded them as rebels. During the struggle there occurred an incident which for chivalry would put to shame many white men engaged in modern "civilized warfare." The chief in command of the Maori forces was informed that the English had run out of gunpowder. He collected all that he could get together and sent it to the British general with this message, "I hear you have no gunpowder—you cannot fight without gunpowder—I send you some."

How different was the chivalry of this Maori chieftain from the deceit—termed strategy—practiced by Christians when they engage in mutual destruction.

South Africa—twice I have visited that fascinating land—the "raw" non-Christian natives are called "Reds" because they wear red blankets.

The Zulus are considered the finest natives of all. They live on the east coast of Africa. Before being subdued by the British, they had been invincible in arms for generations. Some of their laws applying to morals have been very rigid. Twice I have been in the Zulu country. There is an instance recorded in the last century of their not subduing a neighboring tribe. The Zulu king had desolated the countries bordering on his domains for hundreds of miles, and had acquired much booty. During his operations he made war on the chief of a tribe far removed from his own country, was defeated, and with a remnant of his army started for home. He expected to return with much superior resources and crush his enemy. But the situation was changed when his victorious foe sent after him a present of many animals, accompanied by a message of good will, stating that he knew what the Zulus wanted was cattle, and that he would like to give them some. The hitherto all-conquering Zulus were enormously impressed by this extraordinary generosity. As a result they never again made war on the people whose leader had won their hearts by his tact, his courtesy, and his gifts, although fully able to renew the attack and defeat their one-time enemy. The savage participants in these incidents had never heard of the Christian message about "heaping coals of fire on the heads of their enemies." They discovered its value for themselves.

During the Russian-Japanese War, the people of Japan—a civilized country with the highest literacy—regarded the many thousands of Russian prisoners of war who had been sent to Japan during the conflict as their national “guests.” As a missionary once said to me, “The Japanese killed nearly every chicken in the Empire to give to their Russian prisoners.”

During the Great War when I was in Japan and the Far East, I came across several instances of the extraordinary politeness with which the Japanese Government treated its prisoners of war. Compare their methods with many of the abominable tales associated with prisoners among “Christian” peoples at war!

Since my last trip round the world, I was addressing about two hundred Methodist preachers. During my speech I held up before them an African war club which I had brought from the Zulu country, and said to my audience:

Now you and I would not care to be knocked on the head with this club. The Zulus practice with it just as the Christian people do with their bayonets. When a Zulu goes to war he can use it on his enemy at short range or throw it with such unerring accuracy that he can kill his enemy quite one hundred feet away. The Zulu thinks that he has the latest thing in killing. It is only when he has come into contact with Christians or become “Christianized” that he learns what a backward sort of man he is. He learns that it is possible for a young man to drop

a bomb from the sky, make a big hole in the ground, and kill or mangle many men all around it. This poor ignorant Zulu then discovers what a poor, miserable "heathen" he is after all. How he must wish he was a Christian!

The preachers saw the point. There was a titter, then shouts of laughter.

When I was in Tasmania, in 1922, after addressing a group of ministers on international good will, a Methodist preacher came to me and said:

Mr. Allen, your reference to William Penn and the seventy years of peace in Pennsylvania under the Quaker régime, put me in mind of what happened many years ago in the early days of British occupation in Tasmania. There had for years been constant warfare between the white settlers and the aborigines. The situation seemed hopeless and all kinds of crimes were perpetrated on both sides. Finally it was decided by the white settlers to join in an effort to drive all the blacks up into a corner of the island and kill every man, woman, and child among them. Even this did not succeed. A number escaped and continued their depredations. Finally a Methodist preacher went to the British governor and asked him if he could try a plan he had thought about, which was to endeavor to conquer the blacks through good will. The Governor felt that nothing would be lost by such an attempt, and acquiesced. The Methodist preacher unarmed went among the aborigines and by kindness and helpfulness won their hearts. In two years they all surrendered, and there was no more trouble with them afterwards.

An African tribe of cannibals has many set prayers, one of which is very beautiful. It is "O Lord, out of the abundance of Thy plenty pour into the lap of our necessity." They regard war in a different light than do many white people. They say to the white men:

You kill for hatred or revenge or when you want more territory, while we only kill when we are hungry and have need to make war in order to eat our enemies. We kill only a few; you kill many thousands.

Dr. A. H. Smith, of China, whose books relating to that wonderful country are well known throughout America, once told me that he was preaching to a Chinese audience on the subject of love. In the midst of his discourse an old Chinaman left his seat in the rear of the hall, shuffled down the aisle and paused in front of the speaker to ask a question. He said to Dr. Smith, "Where you come from?" The preacher replied, "From the United States." Next came the demand, "Got any warships?" Dr. Smith replied, "Yes." The old Chinaman gave a grunt of disdain, turned around and resumed his seat. Dr. Smith concluded his story by saying: "I had to get away from the subject just as soon as I could." The Chinese find it impossible to reconcile the preaching of the practice of the spirit of love by Christian missionaries with the treatment they often have received from foreign countries.

A leading Christian convert of India once remarked to me:

The East knows just enough of Jesus Christ to see the difference between His teaching and Western obedience to it. The people of the East say without any passion or prejudice that the Western nations are not Christian.

During the Great War, when engaged in a trip through the Far East, I came across many indications of this feeling. Some missionaries and Y. M. C. A. workers told me that leading non-Christians came to them expressing the belief that the World War conclusively proved that Christianity is a failure. Some laughed the faith of Christ into derision.

An eminent Japanese, known throughout the world, a personal friend of mine, during 1914 overheard some of his countrymen conversing in a Japanese train about the war and the Christians. Said one to the other:

They say we have no religion, but theirs is only a veneer. When their passions are aroused, their religion fails to restrain them—see how in this war they behave worse than we do!

Some said:

You see there is nothing to your propaganda of love and faith. Your people go into the war. See the Christians behaving toward each other like brutes. We know better than you do. You come over here to tell us one thing, while your own people at home are doing exactly the reverse!

The best way to meet these arguments is to state that the religion of Jesus has not really been tried by many who profess to be his followers.

Prior to a visit to China, strenuous efforts had been made by Christian workers to secure attendance at their Bible classes from a certain large high school. Their efforts had been fruitless, and the reason for a long time could not be ascertained. Finally the mystery was cleared up when they learned that at a dinner the principal of the school in question had commented on Christians in these words, "They talk smoothly to us, but when they lay off their cloak of Christianity they are ravening wolves!"

When punitive expeditions, apparently just in their aims, have been prosecuted, the punishment has often been most terrific and out of all proportion to the original incitement for revenge. The looting of Peking subsequent to the siege of that city and the reprisals supplementary to the fighting by Christian forces at that time, were small credit to the profession of the religion of Jesus. Admiral Sir E. J. Seymour, of the British Navy, in his autobiography said, "Peking was mercilessly looted. I should think the booty taken at Peking in 1900 was as valuable as any so got in the lifetime of the present generation."

A young soldier during the Boxer troubles in China brought home to his Christian mother valuable booty taken from the palaces of a city of

China. The good woman proudly showed her acquisitions to her friends, but, we must confess, if her son had taken such goods in any other way from the residences of the rich she would have been covered with sorrow. The deadening effects of war upon the conscience, even when waged with the "heathen," often reacts unhappily on the Christian mind.

During the "Boxer war" the looting of Peking, by the soldiers from "Christian" countries, was only one part of the story. The sufferings of the unfortunate women of that wonderful city, as related to me by missionaries when in China a few years thereafter, were terrible. The final financial indemnities demanded by, and paid to, the governments whose citizens had been slain or outraged during the Boxer uprising, were out of all proportion to the usual indemnities in such cases. China was weak, extortion was the order of the hour. There was one splendid exception: The United States returned to the use of China a large part of the indemnity money—said to have been about \$13,000,000. This sum was invested in the great "Indemnity College," also for the endowment thereof. Its handsome buildings are a few miles outside of Peking. Here 400 Chinese students annually have been given education, freely. They afterwards have been sent to the United States and educated in our colleges and universities, freely. By fair dealing you can make

friends with non-Christians. Since that act of international justice on the part of the United States, the Chinese have mostly traded with our country in all ways they possibly could.

At Singapore, in 1922, I was talking with a gentleman who discussed the collapse of business in the Far East after the Great War, and the ruin involved. He exclaimed:

It has not only been around here but everywhere you go in this part of the world. You go over the East, even to Celebes or Borneo or New Guinea, and you find the poor natives—millions of them—who are starving. There is no demand for what they produce. Many of them probably never knew there had been a war, yet they have suffered because of it.

So much for the far-reaching and post-war effects of "Christian" greed and strife!

Bishop Whipple in his delightful autobiography, *The Lights and Shadows of a Long Episcopate* (The Macmillan Company), tells the following story in connection with his work as missionary bishop among the American Indians:

On one of my visits I found a scalp dance going on in front of the mission house. I had just come from the Chippewa country and had heard that the Sioux had killed one of their people. Indignant at the brutal sight, I took our interpreter, Thomas Robertson, and went to see the Chief. I said, "Wabasha, you asked for a school and a mission. I come to visit you and I see in front of the mission house a horrible scalp dance. I know the man who was killed; he

has a wife and children; the wife is asking for her husband; the children ask for their father. Wabasha, the Great Spirit is angry! Some day he will look Wabasha in the face and ask him for his red brother."

The Chief was smoking, but when I had finished he took his pipe from his mouth, and slowly blowing a cloud of smoke into the air said, "White man go to war with his own brother; kills more men than Wabasha can count in all his life, Great Spirit look down and says, '*Good* white man; he has My Book; I have good home for him by and by.' Dakota has no Great Spirit Book; he goes to war, kills one man, has a foolish scalp dance. Great Spirit very angry. Wabasha doesn't believe it!'

CHAPTER XII

“THE POOR SAVAGE”

When the North American Indian went forth to battle he did not call the old braves, squaws, and papooses out of their tepees to march and beat drums in a grand preliminary parade down his village street wherewith to excite the people in favor of the prospective strife. The chiefs and braves who were going to do the fighting generally worked up the frenzy and enthusiasm themselves. Those “leaders of public opinion,” as we moderns would say, were very unsophisticated. They did not realize what great credit for patriotism might have been accorded them if they had only headed the home processions and talked big and strong whilst inveigling or forcing their guileless young braves into taking the murderously hard end of the job. No! Those foolish Indian leaders did not understand how to save their own skins.

A queer thing it was in the ancient days of Indian history that after the old, rich, or brainy chiefs had seen a treaty violated by themselves or somebody else, and had held their council fire they did not say to the young braves:

Now, boys, we expect you to go and do the killing and help starve the other fellows or be killed your-

selves. As for us, you must know that we did not bring on this war, so we will stay home—we will stay with the papooses and squaws—we will sharpen up tomahawks and chip down arrowheads. We will watch the wampum.

"Wampum" was the North American Indian's money. Those rich and brainy old chiefs did not wink at one another and repeat, "We will stay home and take care of the wampum—we will look after the wampum!"

No. Those aged leaders, like the brave men they were, went right out into the savagery that they directly or indirectly had helped to create. They did not shout orders or defiance from where missiles could not hit them. Unluckily for them, they knew nothing about being able to control their fighting from the rear or having dancing parties at home and soft beds at night while "the boys" were in the filth and mud at the front. Poor, unsophisticated chiefs! Although sometimes physically weak, and hardly able to draw a bow, they led their young braves right at the very front. They did not force others into personal dangers that they did not go into themselves. Sometimes those rich and brainy old chiefs died with their faces to the foe. All honor to them!

I never heard of those big chiefs loaning wampum or sending tomahawks to a neighboring tribe that was at war with some other tribe with which they had been at peace, and then being

astonished because the tribe with which they had been at peace did not like such things. Oh, no! It took more than that to amaze those artless pagans. Nor did they ever appreciate the marvelous war-developing possibilities of barter in tomahawks and wampum. They had no munition concerns. They did not have the wit to make wampum out of selling tomahawks and so make the fight profitable to themselves. They had no business sense; they just didn't know! Poor old pagans!

As for the young braves, I never heard of their being informed by some of their medicine men, their religious advisors, when they fared forth to combat, that "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." The other two unfortunate verses on either side of that verse in the white man's New Testament, and which interprets the central verse, never had to be explained to them. Indeed, their medicine men frankly told them that they were expected to lay down the lives of the other young braves who were fighting for their friends. Those red medicine men were not worried by any unpalatable written spiritual instructions. Happy medicine men!

Another item of Indian history has wonderfully instructed me: Each tribe prayed to its own god for victory. Just suppose that all the tribes had had one god. Would that god not have been

puzzled as to whom to award victory? And would not the petitioning tribes, with respect to such religious discernment as they happened to possess, got spiritually mixed up?

Now I get to a place where we almost abjectly apologize for the poor Indian. I refer to his lamentable "heathen" inefficiency. When he wanted to destroy and mutilate an enemy, he seldom knew any better than to chop out a few square inches from the scalp. Had he been able to pursue his warring activities to "the year of our Lord 1929" he would have learned that elaborate machinery, scientifically applied, could do the wholesale killing and mutilating business so effectually that not a shred of a man could be found after he had been struck by "Christian efficiency."

After many centuries came the white man. He brought a shooting tube in one hand and a Bible in the other. The Indians soon learned that they had cause to fear the shooting tubes but need not worry much about the Bibles. The shooting tubes were terrible, they could penetrate the body of a warrior at a much longer range than could flint-headed arrows. The white man commenced to take away the land of the poor savages. He felled the forests. He burned the humble tepees of the aborigines and, when they did not like that, he proceeded to kill the Indians and their families. The Indian retaliated the best he knew

how. He loved his forests, his streams, his mountains, the stars and sun above, the earth beneath. The great Indian orator, Red Jacket, exclaimed with poetic beauty, “The sun is my father, the earth is my mother, I rest on her bosom and am content.”

Sometimes the civilized folks and the uncivilized folks entered into conference and formed a treaty. History shows that almost always it was the white men who broke faith with their red neighbors. Then massacres and brutality would break out afresh. At other times the white people would trade with the red people and, with the greed of the shark and innocence of the worm, the white men would furnish the unsophisticated red men with muskets and powder wherewith, in the next war, the Indians could kill their white enemies. Yet, after all, we must admit that the “Poor Savage” mostly exhibited a hopeless ignorance and a benighted outlook.

But these “poor savages” did not always remain benighted. Years ago the courageous Modocs, after having held the troops of the United States at bay for a long time in the western wilderness, were compelled to surrender and were removed to the Indian Territory. There they came under the care of a Friends’, or Quaker, mission. They were taught out of a book popularly called *The New Testament*, the teachings of which at first must have struck their sense of

humor. It said, "Love your enemies; do good to them that hate you." Funny! Not kill, scalp, and starve your enemies? To cut a long story short, these Modocs believed in that book. They yielded to its power, and their hearts were really changed by the Great Spirit of which it told. They found a new Master and really thought that He meant what He said—they actually took Him seriously. They were not educated men, but they understood what the great English poet, John Milton, meant when he wrote of "the irresistible might of the spirit of meekness." So even a savage can become a Christian! Can a Christian become a savage?

CHAPTER XIII

CONSCIENCE

In England during 1916, a group of men marched through the streets of a channel town en route for France. They were prisoners under military guard, and were being deported from England because they could not conscientiously fight. Some were Church people and based their refusal to support war on the teachings of the gospel. The consciences of others forbade them to fight because they felt that war was a sin against humanity. Some expected to be executed. All knew that humiliations and imprisonment awaited them. The townspeople looked on in amazement as they heard these military prisoners sing the grand old hymn:

Stand up, stand up for Jesus,
Ye soldiers of the cross.

At the commencement of the Great War it required courage to refuse to drift with the tide. The conscientious objectors were called C.O.'s. There were thousands of them. They were mostly discovered in the more enlightened or liberty-loving countries.

As to occupations, among the English C.O.'s in prison, January, 1918, there were reported to

be: clerks, 20 per cent; building trades and cabinetmakers, 10 per cent; teachers, 8.50 per cent; merchants and managers, 7.25 per cent; engineers, metal workers, etc., 7 per cent; professional men, 5.75 per cent; tailors, carmen, postmen, etc., 21.25 per cent, and so forth. Apparently the professional men showed the highest percentage to the number conscripted. I have no statistics regarding the United States.

As to religions among the English C.O.'s, The Society of Friends furnished 14 per cent; Congregationalists, 12.25; Agnostics and Atheists, 12 per cent; Church of England, 7.50 per cent; Wesleyans, 7.50 per cent; Unitarians, 6.50 per cent; Jews, 6 per cent; Roman Catholics, 3 per cent; Primitive Methodists, 3.75 per cent, and so forth. The Friends naturally furnished the highest percentage of objectors in proportion to their numbers. I do not have statistics referring to the religions of C.O.'s in the United States.

As to mental equipment of C.O.'s, the United States army tests are available. An official report submitted December, 1918, showed that in regard to intelligence 46.5 of C.O.'s were above the grade of "C," which is average, while in the army as a whole, only 27.3 were above "C." Again it was officially stated, "The conscientious objectors of the religious and political groups are high-grade men very markedly above the average of the whole group." Certainly the charges

sometimes gratuitously made that they were mentally deficient are proved to have been absurd.

A young man in Camp Lewis, state of Washington, during the war, where at one time over 300 C.O.'s were under arrest, has informed me that in a company of 300 of them only three smoked. There was no lunacy, no vile, contagious diseases, and they generally represented high intellectual and physical efficiency, many of them being college men or farmers and holding various opinions on ordinary subjects such as would be found in an ordinary group of young men.

I have found that the C.O.'s generally, not always, obtained the respect of the officers of the Regular Army who naturally could not always accept their point of view.

Books have been written about the C.O.'s. Some C.O.'s at times were under fire in France while relieving the helpless civilian population. Some engaged in the dangerous work of destroying mines in the seas surrounding England. Some built houses for homeless victims in France. Some fed millions of starved children. Some nursed typhus cases in the lousiest parts of Russia.

Not a few C.O.'s in England and America were men who had been conspicuous in national social service or humanitarian work before conscription seized their bodies.

A winner of the Harrison scholarship for philosophy of the University of Pennsylvania, who

had captained the cross-country team for that great university, who made other athletic records, well-known in Philadelphia in social and church circles was, according to the *Public Ledger* of that city, in 1919, in a cell at Fort Leavenworth as a C.O. He was pronounced "well-bred and a gentleman to the finger tips."

Let us review the attitude of Great Britain toward those who stood by their convictions with respect to the system of "wholesale homicide." Broadly speaking, it may be said that England at first treated this class atrociously, but gradually improved her methods, no doubt largely because the English at bottom are a liberty-loving people and many of her leading public men protested against the treatment accorded them. On the other hand, the American government at first treated C.O.'s leniently, or at least professed to do so, but gradually savage brutality was in not a few cases introduced, while hardly a voice conspicuous in the political affairs of the United States was raised in their behalf.

Dr. John Clifford, the leader of the non-conformist churches of Great Britain, in 1916 wrote in the *Daily News*, London:

Letters by every post give facts like the following: A Congregational minister writes of a man twenty-nine years of age. He has known him all his life and has been an intimate friend for the last ten years. For his genuineness he offered unimpeachable evidence. In spite of all evidence the Tribunals

declared he had no conscience and ordered him into the army. I have recently seen him and under these conditions: the cell is ten by seven, walls painted slate blue black, the floor to lie upon, an overcoat for a pillow, and not even a chair; solitary confinement for days and days; and everything taken away, even a tract that a good woman had given to him on the journey; nothing to handle, nothing to count, thrown back entirely upon his own thoughts, with just food enough to keep him alive, unable to wash or shave or get his clothes off or write any letters. So the great military machine is set to its work. Bad as that is, it is a mild case compared with others I could quote.

A youthful "conscientious objector" who was suffering solitary confinement, begged a Bible from the prison authorities. He was refused this, along with any reading matter; but finally the officers in charge said to him, "Too much Bible reading is as bad as too much whiskey; you can have it one hour a day."

Professor Gilbert Murray, Regius Professor of the Classics, Oxford University, wrote in 1917 as follows:

Disobedient objectors have been taken to France, avowedly for the purpose of enabling their officers to shoot them at will. They have been threatened with shooting, and have been formally sentenced to death. But they have not been actually shot. The special grace guaranteed them by the law has only taken the form of cells, field punishment, penal servitude, and repeated terms of hard labor.

Another method, however, has been practiced freely, as many published documents show. It is

secret bullying and terrorism in the barracks. . . . The ordinary cases of oppression, unfairness, and bullying in barracks were probably not due to any high authorities, but sprang from excesses of popular feeling, or from sheer ill-temper and stupidity. A young officer, like one known to me, who had never heard of Tolstoy and believed that the rule "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" was spoken by Christ in the Sermon on the Mount, was not likely to show much insight in dealing with a meek theological prisoner who roused all his instincts of antagonism, and, what was worse, often made him look like a fool. . . . I have received by this morning's post (June 30) the accounts of one man, an intended missionary, dead in a hospital, another dead in a lunatic asylum, as the result of this secret bullying; and a third being subjected to a well-known form of medieval torture. This man is imprisoned in a deep and narrow hole, too small for sitting down, not to speak of lying, with no roof overhead and water at the bottom covered by two planks. His sentence is for twenty-eight days, which would mean death.

. . . Even the special debate, lasting considerably over an hour, on this subject in the House of Lords has been most scantily reported, and the speeches by Lord Parmoor, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Courtney have been practically suppressed.

A story of the workings of conscription in New Zealand during the Great War has been published by H. E. Holland, of that country, under the title *Armageddon or Calvary*. As an illustration, his book tells of the sufferings of fourteen New Zealand objectors who were deported to France. When they refused to don uniforms,

they were left without clothing. Their only covering was a towel from about the third day after leaving Cape Town till they were within three days' journey of Plymouth. The conditions in the ship's "clink" after leaving New Zealand were disgusting. . . .

I have frequently heard how English boys from eighteen years and upward met the English War Tribunals. Some of these lads have been known to stand constant heckling by the hour with the utmost composure. A member of a Tribunal during an examination said to a boy of my acquaintance, "How is it that you, who are so tender of life, do not hesitate to kill cattle and even eat them?" Quickly was flung back the answer, "Have cattle souls?" Another lad, a C.O., was being badgered by a Tribunal, when one of his judges asked him, "Why should a big, healthy boy like you want exemption?" The youngster answered, "Why are you not in the trenches?"

"Oh," said the man on the bench, "I secured exemption." Instantly the lad replied, "That is just what I want." He got it.

To the honor of England it can be said that many were the protests from church and other bodies in Great Britain against the lapses with respect to the time-honored maintenance of rights of conscience. A few of these follow:

Under date of October 29, 1917, there appeared in London newspapers a strong appeal signed by

eminent members of the Church of England on behalf of the C.O.'s then suffering sentences and tortures for conscience' sake. The Archbishop of Canterbury was quoted in this appeal as demanding that "such treatment should cease."

Under date of November 14, 1917, London newspapers published two memorials on behalf of C.O.'s. Here are a few names of the signers: Lords Parmoor, Ribblesdale, and Morley, the Bishops of Bath and Wells and of Chelmsford, Arthur Henderson, M. P., Lord Henry Bentinck, Sir John Barlow, Robert Bridges, the Poet Laureate, Mr. Jerome K. Jerome, and Sir A. Quiller-Couch.

The other memorial was signed by many eminent individuals, including Lord Monteagle and Sheffield, the Bishops of Winchester, Oxford, Lincoln, Petersburg, and Lichfield, Sir C. E. H. Hobhouse, Commander Josiah Wedgwood, Sir Robert Williams, M. P., Dean Hensley Henson, Canon Scott Holland, Dr. Ford, Headmaster of Harrow, General Bramwell Booth, Captain E. H. Bennett, Lady Warwick, Mrs. Waldorf Astor, Mrs. Cavendish-Bentinck, and Professor Gilbert Murray, of Oxford.

In the House of Lords the whole question was reviewed by leading members. Lord Lansdowne described the government's proceedings as a "bad blunder," stating that sentences were "piling punishment on punishment till it was more than

human nature could bear." Lord Bryce supported the protests. Lord Buckmaster (Lord Chancellor) stated definitely that the treatment of those men was illegal. Other eminent peers protested—also the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The *London Daily News*, December 4, 1917, reported a memorial signed by 19 bishops and over 200 clergy and influential laymen of the Established Church denouncing the then treatment of C.O.'s, many of whom, it stated, "from sincere conviction feel bound to refuse military service."

Twenty days afterwards 1231 non-conformist ministers signed a petition, "demanding that such treatment cease."

In spite of many remonstrances, these persecutions continued.

On January 25, 1918, there appeared the following news item in London newspapers:

At the Memorial Hall yesterday a meeting convened by the Free Church League of Women Suffrage was held in memory of Arthur Horton, the second conscientious objector who has died in prison within the last month.

Dr. Clifford wrote:

Arthur Horton's name is added to the long list of witnesses to the sovereignty of conscience, and his tragic career shows the way in which as Lord Morley says, "the war ostracizes, demoralizes and brutalizes reason," leads to deceptive legislation, and that, in turn, is unjust administration of the law.

The general attitude of many conscientious objectors when appearing before the Tribunals may be epitomized in part by the statement of Stephen Hobhouse, a member of a peer's family, who in normal times had devoted his whole life to improving the social conditions of the poor in the east end of London. He stated to the Tribunal:

As a disciple of Jesus Christ . . . I must refuse to take any willing part in operations which have as their object or accompaniment the wholesale slaughter of my fellow creatures in war. I regard all wars, defensive and offensive, as essentially alien to that divine Spirit which led Christ to the cross, and which bids us love our enemies and overcome evil, not with explosive bombs and shells, but by the methods of love and reason . . . I bear my testimony against a Compulsion Act which I regard not only as un-Christian, but also as a betrayal in large measures, of the ideals of liberty for which Britain is considered to be fighting.

The sufferings of many C.O.'s in England were too awful, too disgusting to describe here. I suggest reading *Conscription and Conscience*, a book of 380 pages, by John W. Graham, of London, England. Undernourishment and brutalities were known to have caused the death of at least 71 young Englishmen, among them some of the finest Christian characters in the United Kingdom.

So much for the crucifixion of English ideals in war time. Of what happened in America after

she entered the war to secure "liberty" abroad, only a trifle has been published. Space forbids telling much of their sufferings.

The treatment of Conscientious Objectors was in many cases peculiarly atrocious in some of the camps and federal prisons of the United States. Some were put in iron shackles, others had the cold shower administered to them and the most filthy scrub brushes were applied to their bodies. Some were placed under cold spray until they collapsed. Some were put upon bread and water in dark dungeons for two weeks at a time. Some were belabored by men who had no authority to administer such punishment for disobedient soldiers. The beatings at times were followed by investigations which occasionally resulted in better conditions, sometimes not. The cases are recorded of three brothers who, after tragic experiences at Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay, were subsequently sent to Fort Leavenworth. As they refused to do military work they were given the usual confinement in solitary and two of them were seized with pneumonia, were taken to the hospital, and died. A young friend of mine, since an instructor in a well-known university, took the position of nurse in a camp hospital, where he had to deal with men afflicted with the vilest diseases, but he escaped unscathed. He had been offered promotion if he would renounce his principles. There is no rec-

ord of the number of these brutalities—or deaths resulting therefrom—applied to men who suffered for conscience' sake. Courts in some cases sentenced men to twenty-five years imprisonment or for shorter terms. Long terms were later remitted. The practice in England had been to sentence men to two years hard labor and then re-sentence them at the termination of two years. It would seem as if the then Secretary of War of the United States endeavored at first to mitigate the sufferings of genuine conscientious objectors but, as time went on, the situation to some extent got beyond his control. It must be understood that when I make the above statements I refer only to sincere objectors to military service, and not to cowardly draft dodgers.

The National Civil Liberties Bureau of New York, officered by well-known citizens of the United States, reported many cases of persecution in military prisons of men conscientiously refusing to participate in army work. Fort Leavenworth, the Federal Prison in Kansas, was the scene of much suffering.

"Beatings and tortures are matters of general knowledge, and are accepted by the authorities as justifiable," were alleged in the *San Francisco Call*. Again we were told regarding Fort Leavenworth:

More than twenty men were in the pit. They included ————. About a week before the

letter was written, Howard Moore, then shackled to his cell bars was awarded by the Carnegie Hero Fund Commission a hero medal for saving, at the risk of his own life, Miss May Hanney, from drowning off Bell Island.

A pitiful tale is that of a godly member of one of the Russian sects religiously opposed to war. His people had sought America to escape the conscience-oppressing despotism of the Czar. He wrote in 1917. His letter from a hospital concludes as follows:

When we got here [in camp] they began to torture us again. They dragged me like an animal with a rope around my neck. They peeled the skin off my neck. They tore my shirt to pieces and wanted me to put on a uniform. They shaved my beard. They cut my ears. They put a saber to my neck. They threw me into an ice-cold bath. I did not count how many times I was beaten by them. Once in one of those ice-cold baths I fainted away, so they took me out and brought me back to life and tortured me again. They pulled the hairs off my feet like feathers. I was motionless. I only prayed to God to take me away from this world full of horrors.

September 3, 1919, I made a personal visit to C.O.'s in a Federal prison at Alcatraz, an island in the beautiful bay of San Francisco, in company with two of my friends.

Colonel Garrard, commandant, and all his subordinate officers were very courteous to us and seemed sincerely desirous of affording full oppor-

tunity to observe the actual conditions in this prison.

We first interviewed those conscientious objectors to military service who were then in dark cells. These men had no cots, no chairs, nothing but four medium-weight blankets to wrap themselves in at night when they lay on the miserable, cold concrete floor to obtain such sleep as they could. In the old days of medieval torture some of the finest productions of the human brain were written in solitary confinement by men who endured it for conscience' sake. But these young men at Alcatraz I was informed, had no writing material, no books, nothing to employ the mind save their own thoughts.

The writer has been sixteen times in Europe or England and, like so many others from our country, has sometimes looked with horror into dungeons or cells where men were incarcerated because of religious or political convictions. But I believe that most all such wretched places of abode had a little ray of light from a small window. On the occasion of this visit to Alcatraz we were also shown the dungeons where we were told that up to three weeks preceding the date of our visit these sufferers had been kept during the regulation fourteen days at a time. These dungeons were placed in the heart of the prison so that daylight could not penetrate them.

Colonel Garrard told me that the dungeons

and accompanying methods had always been sufficient to break the wills of the worst cases in the army who had come under his care; but added that he could not force the conscientious objectors to military service to comply with the requirements of the institution. I told him that all history reveals that you cannot coerce conscience. Our courteous army host evidently wished that such cases had not been sent to Alcatraz. He did not know what to do with them.

While such a situation obtained in America, so far as I know during the continuance of the war hardly any organization or statesmen, preacher, church body, or periodical except Friends' (Quakers) publicly lifted a voice of protest against the brutality then existing, or on behalf of liberty of conscience, in America. One church paper, *The Herald of Gospel Liberty*, told the story written by me and, to its honor, the *Literary Digest* published it. America, while the war was on, was relatively careless as compared with the many public protests made in England.

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, May 9, 1917, had stated in a message to its constituent bodies regarding the war which America had just entered, "Nothing should be permitted to destroy the dearly bought right of freedom of conscience."

The Federal Council, after the termination of the war, through its General War-Time Com-

mission made a very seriously worded report upon the attitude of the government toward conscientious objectors asking that C.O.'s then imprisoned should be released.

The late Lord Kitchener, who in his day was the most conspicuous military man of the Empire, was often maligned by his enemies. He, however, had broader sympathies and a clearer idea of right and wrong than many of those who disliked him might admit. *The Manchester Guardian*, of England, has told the story of a visit paid him by Dr. Clifford and Dr. F. B. Meyer—both non-conformist church leaders—a few days before he was drowned in 1916. They pled on behalf of Conscientious Objectors to military service, then suffering much in camps and prisons. This conference was declared to have been the last public interview granted by Lord Kitchener. They found him much more open-minded than they had expected. Doctor Clifford was reported as stating that he showed “profound sympathy with their views.” Had the finer feelings of this eminent soldier been observed, the clouding of the ancient distinction of England—the right of conscience—would not have darkened her history during the years 1916, 1917, and 1918.

Lord Parmoor in a note introducing, *I Appeal Unto Caesar*, on behalf of the C.O.'s, published in London in 1917, declared that “the supreme test of civil liberty is the determination to give full

protection to an unpopular minority in times of national excitement." He said:

There is a curious confusion of thought in stigmatizing a deep sense of religious duty as though it were a mean attempt to evade the claims of a national obligation. . . . It is forgotten that obedience to conscience is a primary duty in Christian Ethics.

Professor Gilbert Murray, of Oxford University, wrote in the same book in 1917 on behalf of men then suffering for conscience sake in England:

All the conscientious objectors known in History have been exasperating, otherwise people would not have persecuted them. Think of the early Christians who were offered complete freedom on condition of performing a slight act of courtesy to the emperor's statue and refused it.

In the midst of much public discussion, Lord Hugh Cecil, the distinguished layman of the Established Church, voiced in Parliament (1917) a powerful defense of conscientious objectors.

You say that the safety of the state is the supreme law; there is nothing beyond it. It is a doctrine not novel; indeed, it is now notorious. It is precisely what Bethmann-Hollweg said in defending German aggression We are Christians first; we are Englishmen afterwards. And the Christian faith claims us absolutely—body and soul. . . . By our common religion as laid down by Paul, if men think an action wicked, to them it is wicked. You recognize this with Mohammedans and Hindus

—you do not violate their consciences. You only say they are mistaken. And to punish mistakes of opinion is to go back to the old familiar ground of religious persecution. [A great outburst of cheers.] To force another man's conscience is against my conscience. Belief in the state (as a religion) is barren and degrading.

The crux of our criticism of the treatment accorded C.O.'s lies in the fact that it was professedly Christian men who abused them, because they simply adhered to the teachings and spirit of Jesus.

Oliver Cornwell wrote:

If the poorest Christian, the most mistaken Christian shall desire to live peaceably and quietly under you—I say if any shall desire to lead a life of godliness and honesty, let him be protected.

No wonder that George Washington declared in a letter, now on deposit in a Philadelphia library:

The conscientious scruples of all men should be treated with great delicacy and tenderness.

One of the sharp points of difference between English-speaking peoples and other peoples during the past 200 years has been the general recognition by the former of rights of conscience. Both America and England have "Conscience Clauses" incorporated in their laws which acknowledge religious or individual scruples in matters of oaths, religion, or other duties to the state.

A nation educated in false principles, either by its government or literature, deteriorates in its sense of obligation to God and humanity. We say of such a country that "it has lost its conscience." Dr. Muhlon, a native of Germany and at one time a director of Krupp's, in his book, *The Vandal of Europe*, published in 1918, shows that the typical German had permitted his idealism and better emotions to be undeveloped in connection with his obedience to a great military machine, that he is naturally kind-hearted, that he has been trained into doing things he is told to do, but, "once disturbed, he becomes frightful, because he lacks any higher capacity of discrimination; because he merely does his duty and recognizes no such thing as individual conscience." What an indictment of misdirected education and authority!

"Ignorance is the everlasting mother of intolerance." Intolerance seeks to crush conscience. Conscience ever contends with intolerance and ignorance and, if victorious, the world is the gainer in light, righteousness and peace.

John Milton, the great English poet, said, "Let Truth and Falsehood grapple; whoever knew Truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter! Give me liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all other liberties!"

The glory of the English-speaking peoples,

rights of conscience—the right of citizens to obey the primary ethics and teachings of the religion of Jesus—after two hundred fifty years went down under conscription and espionage, under governmental persecution, and the blind subserviency of the masses during the Great War Will this shameful record be repeated? What will happen in the “next war” unless Protestants, Romanists, and agnostics alike arouse, for their own protection—I say *for their own protection*—and insist that these unrighteous precedents shall not be repeated?

CHAPTER XIV

HUMOR

During the Great War it was a sorry spectacle to see, through the country districts of England and Ireland, the new—often scared and unwilling—conscripts being marched off to the training camps under the care of a few officers in khaki. But it is in frisky Ireland that you get funny war stories. An Irishwoman had just parted from her husband at the station in Waterford, Ireland, and as she crossed the bridge after leaving him, with tears streaming down her face, she was overheard exclaiming, "If he bates the Germans as he bates me, they will sure make him a giniral!"

High hopes of military promotion ever rise in the feminine bosom.

During the Great War a patrol watching the Irish coast for suspicious signs on sea or land one day discovered a strange dark object upon the beach, evidently a bomb. He hurried to headquarters, no doubt with visions of promotion for faithfulness reeling through his nimble brain. A group of constables—a council of war, so to speak—carefully examined the dangerous looking object and finally decided that it was a large, fat, hairy cocoanut.

Here is another story:

Pat, who had enlisted from a small village, sent his mother a letter every week, until one week she received none. A fortnight passed, then a month, but still no letter. His mother was very sad, and one day she met the village priest, who asked her if she had had bad news.

"Shure, I have," she cried. "Pat has been killed."

"Oh, I am very sorry," said the priest. "Did you receive word from the War Office?"

"No," she said. "I received word from himself."

The priest looked perplexed, and said, "But how is that?"

"Shure," she said, "here's the letter, read it for yourself."

The letter read: "Dear Mother—I am now in the Holy Land."

People often discover, when too late, whom they have been fighting for. During one of my visits to the Ever Faithful Isle I was perched on top of a jaunting car near picturesque Killarney. Suddenly the loquacious driver pulled up, and pointing his long whip to a monument on the other side of the high stone wall exclaimed, "Do you see that? That was erected to the memory of over seventy Irishmen who were killed in the Boer War," adding with a look of ineffable scorn and with stinging emphasis, "Foighting for Ireland!"

Some people—particularly Asiatics—can become perfectly matter-of-fact when speaking of

the horrors of war. A British colonel who had served in three wars, who prayed that he might never see another one, told me that in the height of the carnage of the Great War he one day remarked to his East Indian servant, "Well, what do you think of the war?" The stolid Asiatic replied with a tone of intense conviction, "I think this is a first-class war!"

Just before the Armistice, after war propaganda had raised nationalism to the highest pitch, when people were suspicious of one another and even of their allies, a woman in Berkeley, California, told a lady that she discouraged her daughter from marrying a Frenchman. The prevailing nationalism which had been thoroughly whipped up was tersely indicated in the remark, "This ain't no time to mix with foreigners!"

What else was America then doing?

John William Graham, in his remarkable book, *Conscription and Conscience*, tells of the difficult times the chaplains in English prisons had, 1916 to 1918, when interviewing conscientious objectors to military service then incarcerated in English jails. In these interviews the prisoners came out ahead as to New Testament teaching and in argument. From the pulpit in Wandsworth prison the chaplain attacked C.O.'s in his sermon. He deduced from the fact that Paul made tents that Paul was an army contractor who was "proud to do his bit for the Empire."

During the Great War it was actually dangerous in some parts of the United States to read the Declaration of Independence. The many thousand agents of Wilson, under the Espionage Act, who spied on their fellow citizens did not always suffer from an overdose of knowledge. *Christian Work* tells of a man who at that time was arrested, at a meeting, I believe, for reading the Declaration aloud. When the policeman took him in charge the man said, "I didn't write it. Thomas Jefferson wrote it?" The officer of the law shouted, "Where is that guy?"

CHAPTER XV

THE PREACHERS

Sir Philip Gibbs, the most eminent British war correspondent, in his remarkable book, *Now It Can Be Told* (Harper and Brothers), frequently refers to the bitter attitude of many soldiers regarding the gospel versus war. Gibbs tells of how some officers were endeavoring to reconcile the two:

"Seriously, old man, where does Christ come in?"

"He wasn't against righteous force. He chased the moneychangers out of the Temple."

"Yes, but his whole teaching was love and forgiveness. 'Thou shalt not kill.' 'Little children, love one another.' 'Turn the other cheek.' . . . Is it all sheer bosh? If so, why go on pretending? It's either one thing or the other. Brute force or Christianity. . . . But I am not going to say God is Love one day and prod a man in the stomach the next."

Commenting on the relation of religious leaders to war, Gibbs said:

"I think the clergy of all nations, apart from a heroic and saintly few subordinated their faith, which is a gospel of charity, to national limitations. They were patriotic before they were priests, and their patriotism was sometimes as limited, as narrow, as fierce . . . as that of the people who looked to them for truth and light."

The *Evening Post*, New York, issue of October 21, 1916, had an article contributed by an Englishman who, after recounting the "abominable cruelties" to which C.O.'s were being subjected in England, had this to say about the clergy of England at that time:

Perhaps the most sinister feature of the whole of this tragedy has been the conduct of the clergy of the English Church. They are themselves exempted from the provisions of the Military Service Act, but they have preached conscription from their pulpits and have held up the conscientious objectors to ridicule.

"Conscription," said one dean of the Church, "was a step toward the Higher Life."

But the most remarkable utterances were made by the Bishop of London. He opposed giving exemption to conscientious objectors. He said that what mattered was not whether they had conscience or not. Their consciences had to be educated. This was the claim made by the Holy Inquisition in Spain, and they used the rack and the stake for the work of "education."

As I write, I hold in my hand a picture of Dr. Vance, Bishop of Liverpool, taken in 1913. The Bishop stands in a military camp, robed in the insignia of his office and crowned with a military cap. His clerical robe and military headgear are quite typical of the frequently very mixed attitude of the clergy toward the system of war. Queer!

Militarism in many ways neutralizes the spiritual labors of the clergy. Here is an illustration: The Association to Abolish War, of Boston, Mass., when they desired to have the Sermon on the Mount printed for free distribution, without note or comment, were advised by federal authorities not to do so, on the ground that it might be considered pro-German. This happened during the winter of 1917-18. I elsewhere speak of the possibilities of "sedition" found in the Sermon on the Mount, in England, also during the Great War.

To place the New Testament on a plane with seditious literature has been a tremendous attack—but absolutely consistent if not inevitable as a result of war—on the very foundations of the Christian profession. When making addresses to ministers, and I love them all, I have spoken of this incident and believe that they have always laughed when hearing of it. But is it a joke? I dare say there is no profession or business—bankers, lawyers, or other people, who would be amused at any equivalent assault being made upon their calling, profession, or business. On the contrary, the organized members of other callings would immediately defend their avocations, whatsoever those avocations might be, and let government officials know what they desire in connection with the protection of their business or professions.

"We hear much Old Testament preaching these

days," sarcastically remarked a good church woman during the Great War. The sanguinary ethics of Joshua and Ahab were in high favor in many quarters during that boy-killing period.

In the year 1923, crossing the Southern ocean, I sat in the dining saloon close to a man who had been an officer in the Boer War. One day he said to me:

Just before the Battle of Colenso a service was held for the soldiers, there were 20,000 of them. There were twelve clergymen in the army. At the service only two soldiers besides myself turned up, so we three men and the twelve clergymen held a service.

He added that attendance at divine worship was subsequently made compulsory. Probably this was considered some atonement for the social and sanguinary horrors of that conflict, which—as I have since been freely told by Englishmen and Boers alike—was caused by gold and diamonds.

Some American ministers have made strenuous efforts to reconcile the necessary work of an army with their holy calling. A generally lovable cleric—I hide his identity so as not to embarrass him—according to church magazine and newspaper quotations, is cited as having suggested a prayer for those engaged in the very un-Christlike ferocities at the front. Somehow I always smile when I think about that prayer—possibly some of his friends now do so. Excerpts follow:

We offer ourselves and all that we have to Thee, to be used in life and death to bring a larger life to all men of every race. May those of us who are called to take up arms in the battle for a better world be everywhere true followers of Jesus Christ. In camp may our hearts be kept pure and the gospel word be often upon our lips. In the fierceness of the fight may we be quiet and unafraid. May those of us who will die in battle find the Lord of life with us in the death hour. May those of us who will bring our brothers to death do the deed without hate, eager to meet them again, sometime and somewhere, to do the will of God together. . . .

There is much testimony from soldiers proving that in camp life it is difficult to be "kept pure" and that the "gospel word" is not very often upon the lip. The prayer of this good brother that those who "bring our brothers to death do so without hate" is absolutely delightful when we remember the army instructions connected with bayonet practice and the actual scenes associated with personal combat. His pious hope that the combatants after killing one another shall meet again, sometime and somewhere, to do the will of God together, is an exhibition of a somewhat war-excited "Christianity." As we peruse his simple eloquence, we can almost imagine this gentle brother leaving the seclusion of his study, faring to the fighting line, recklessly charging upon his foes, cutting and stabbing them with his bayonet while the lovableness of God flows

through his heart and his hand is steadied with the glorious conviction that he is sending his enemies to heaven.

I praise the consecrated efforts of those chaplains who carry spiritual help to the soldiers committed to their care. But I have discovered, after talks with ex-service men, that the latter very often have affected to despise ministerial attempts to harmonize war with the profession of the gospel.

Stephen Graham in his *A Private in the Guards* (The Macmillan Company), which made a great sensation in England when it was published, speaks in a manner calculated to upset the equanimity of those who teach the above jumbled doctrine. Graham says:

My impression was that in the war the chaplain's work had failed of its object. They could not preach the Sermon on the Mount because they thought loving your enemies contrary to the spirit of the war. . . . They could not attack bad language because it was accepted as manly, they could not attack drunkenness because it was considered to be the men's relaxation, and a good drinker was a good fighter. What was there for the poor padre to say to the men? But life at the front exposed men to many more temptations than did the old life at home.

Here follow statements and revelations of the most horrible description affecting the spiritual lives and physical health of "hundreds of thou-

sands" of men who succumbed to the temptations of army life. Graham concludes a chapter on this subject:

That brings me to a conclusion and it is that, in any future great organization of our manhood I think more could be done if it were decided to abolish the military rank of chaplains. They are not captains. And such titles as Colonel the Reverend or Brigadier-General the Reverend are almost ridiculous.

I recall a conversation I had in 1920 with a leading layman of the Empire, a splendid Christian gentleman. He was referring to the dangers associated with propaganda throughout the Empire and within the United States which, unless stopped, may eventually destroy the peaceful relations between the two great peoples, in spite of many protestations that such a mortal struggle is "unthinkable." He admitted that great fears existed in England and the Colonies on account of the rapid development of the American navy and said that:

To his deep regret, the time will most likely come, unless a better feeling shall prevail, when our two countries, contrary to the teachings of Christ, will engage in a conflict and then at the bidding of their respective governments the clergy of both countries will urge the killing and starving of one another just as they did in the Great War.

This gentleman grieved over the situation and added, "This will continue until the nations become Christians."

I have approached the subject of the relationship of preachers to war with trepidation. We all, with the best intentions, make mistakes. This chapter has been written that we may avoid the pitfalls of the past.

I think the ministers of Jesus will agree with me that His preachers are not to be led into the morass of material policies and passions—we are bidden by Him to tread the lofty altitudes of friendship and peace:

O Jesus, who lovest us infinitely, and
biddest us love as Thou lovest;
Pour Thy love into our souls, that we
may love Thee and each other, with
Thine own love!

Amen.

CHAPTER XVI

THE CHURCHES

One day soon after the Armistice I met a newspaper publisher of my acquaintance on the street. He anxiously exclaimed, "What is the matter with the churches? I find nearly everybody wants peace but the church people, they are more bloodthirsty than anyone else."

If we go back to the passions of that period it may be recalled that many—thank God, not all—church people had become so enthusiastic on behalf of the war that the above-mentioned gentleman seemed correct in his criticism.

Under date of August 24, 1918, the Associated Press repeated a reply of the German Emperor, as quoted by German newspapers, to a letter of homage addressed to him from a conference of Bishops at Fulda, a town of Hesse-Nassau. Said the Emperor:

It fills me with satisfaction and confidence that I can always rely on the assistance and coöperation of the bishops.

Then followed some pious platitudes asserting his "strong faith in the Lord's help."

This message of the Kaiser was similar to other messages sent by the rulers of the different coun-

tries engaged in the war in response to communications addressed to them from churches guaranteeing churchly support. America was no exception to the rule. The following is a sample resolution passed by an American church body, and reveals how easily church people at that time were led into war:

This is not the time for idle criticism of the government, for noisy pacifists or hysterical cries against a righteous war. May they (members of the army) feel that it is a high and holy service to obey the call of the nation as the nation has obeyed the call of God.

Yet four years afterwards, almost to a day, when I was talking with a church leader of the above-mentioned denomination, in the very state where those resolutions had been adopted, he, like many other clergymen of the same group, admitted that the churches had done wrong, and had assigned reasons for doing so, which, in the light of subsequent events had proved to be largely based on insidious and inaccurate propaganda. As he concluded his remarks regarding how the churches had misled the boys, he vehemently exclaimed, "We lied to them!"

Many of the leading denominations of America had, previous to the United States entering the Great War, been most pacific in their utterances. When war was declared, one great church organization felt compelled, with other groups, to

follow the government. Among other pronouncements it issued a folder, entitled, *The Churches, Response to the Nation*. This document stated:

What is the place of the Church in this hour of crisis and danger? It is to spiritualize the nation; to keep the war a conflict of righteousness, liberty, and democracy; to hearten and encourage the men who go to the front, and their loved ones at home; to build a greater fellowship of reconciliation, consisting of millions who while fighting will love their enemies, etc.

I am personally acquainted with some of the Christian brethren who desired to maintain war in this beautiful spirit. I love them for their work's sake. But I am very sure that none of them would now declare that the above hopes have been realized. The activities associated with killing and starving your enemies, the secret resentment of many conscripted soldiers against the churches because the churches encouraged or morally forced them to fight while most of the older church members were themselves personally safe, the hatreds of countless millions who did not learn to love their enemies while trying to slaughter them, the subsequent grab for spoils at Paris, the post-war abominations all over the world, the increase of armaments since 1913, preclude the thought that even the highest motives in prosecuting war will be of avail in reaching the altitudes visualized by Christ.

At the front of the list of publicists of the United Kingdom is A. G. Gardiner. Some of his articles in *The Daily News* reveal the latitude of expression enjoyed by the people of the Empire, so different from the oppressive espionage then under the Wilson régime in America. Under date of January 5, 1918, Gardiner wrote of the British churchly attitude in terms of the strongest criticism. He voiced what I personally found to be, while the war was on, the opinion of many local and serious citizens of the Empire, without regard to denominational affiliations or beliefs. Part of Gardiner's article follows:

It is in this hour of emergency that the organized spiritual resources that we believed we possessed have proved bankrupt. In the general catastrophe that has befallen society the churches have suffered the most complete collapse. They have been paralyzed by the shock and have exercised no more influence on events than a cork on the waves influences the impetus of the tide. The phenomenon is not peculiar to any church or to any country. It applies to all churches in all countries. It involves no reflection on individuals. . . . Here and there a noble word has been spoken, like the Bishop of Winchester's rebuke to Sir A. Conan Doyle's Christmas outrage. But the general attitude of the spiritual leaders of the world has been pathetically unequal to the world's great argument. It has varied from the grotesque appeals of the German pastor to "Thou who sittest above the Cherubim and Seraphim and Zeppelin" to the timorous silence of our own arch-

bishops, the childish prattle of the Bishop of London, the panegyrics of Dean Inge on Autocracy of hurting anyone's feelings. With such halting and equivocal guidance the churches have abdicated. . . .

Let us suppose that another course had been possible. Let us suppose that when the war broke out all the churches of all the nations had agreed that they had a loyalty other than that of the State, and a higher function than that of praying for victory for their separate nationals; that in the clash of war they had to keep alive the sense of the spiritual kingdom which has no earthly boundaries and no material interests. . . . Is it not possible that much of the horror and shame of these years might have been avoided?

Under date of January 16, 1918, appeared the following news item in England. It was reported that Canon Burroughs, of Petersborough, had the preceding day in a clerical meeting at Islington, read a letter he had recently received from a soldier in India, in which the writer said:

What we want to see is action, and we think that a new Church is the only thing that can or will supply the needs of the world. Cannot you leaders start it now, to be ready and waiting for us? Or, if you cannot start a new and united Church, start the thing itself, active, real Christianity.

Round the world, in 1919-20, and again in 1922-23, I everywhere discovered that the war had spiritually impaired the young men of the Christian churches more than many think. The American churches were not put to the same

strain as were those abroad; for them the war was of shorter duration. I met young men, particularly those who had been at the front, who would express disdain, often illy-deserved, as to the sincerity of the churches; not contempt for Jesus, whom they declared they believed in. These lads, while seldom presenting their views to church people, affirmed that the Church Universal had renounced the teachings of the gospel, and at the behest of its governments in different countries had assisted its members to mutual hatreds and deviltry. They said that young men are the unnecessary sufferers from a cruel system which the churches could abolish if they would. They say that while others may join in church fellowship they will have none of it. In short, they make the weakness of the Church in a crucial matter an excuse for disregarding the calls of Christianity. When we consider human nature, do we blame them?

At a great memorial service, held in the United States in 1921, a well-known and honored bishop offered eloquent prayer in which he is reported to have said, "May the Churches of Christ, which did not fail in time of war, not falter now in their efforts for peace."

No doubt this clergyman now is glad that since 1921 a change has come over the Church; but volumes could not more clearly tell of the attitude of the Church then. She did not "fail in time of

war," and does not falter in "effort for peace." If she maintains this unstable position, just so long will exploiters and politicians use her for the accomplishment of their ends, just so long will her shifting policy weaken her services for Christ.

Sir Philip Gibbs, the eminent writer of England, has written in *Now It Can Be Told* (The Macmillan Company):

Many men who came alive out of that conflict (the battle of the Somme) were changed, and vowed not to tolerate a system of thought which led up to such a monstrous massacre of human beings who prayed to the same God, loved the same joys of life, and had no hatred of each other, except as it had been inflamed by their governors, philosophers, and their newspapers.

Again says Sir Philip:

Either the heart of the world must be changed by a real obedience to the gospel of Christ, or Christianity must be abandoned for a new creed which would give better results between men and nations. There could be no reconciling of bayonet drill and high explosives with the words, "Love one another."

I recall an address delivered by me at a luncheon of the Annual Conference of the Church of England Men's Society of all Australia, held in Sydney, 1923, the generous-hearted Bishop of Bathurst presiding. Sympathetic responses and a discussion followed my appeal, during which a young layman feelingly declared, "The job of the Church is to love the world!"

When the keen young people of the churches grasp and obey this fundamental fact the churchly support of war will automatically cease, and the system will receive a body blow that governments will be compelled to recognize.

In the year 1923, when lunching with the member of a historic family, a young dean of the Anglican Church, who had been a chaplain in the Great War, told me that since leaving the army he had had a new vision with respect to war and peace. He felt that no faith can be placed in men's treaties, leagues, or moral aims on behalf of peace, that nothing will avail except changed hearts on the part of the people.

That eminent Englishman, Viscount Bryce, has said:

However heavy the blame which must rest on those to whom the outbreak of the war is to be chiefly attributed, must not some part of it rest upon all who, anywhere and everywhere, call themselves Christians? If there had been a higher standard of Christian thought and action among ourselves and elsewhere in Christendom could these things have happened?

The faith-depleting effect of war on church life can be illustrated by many war-time stories. Said a preacher in connection with a conversation with a pacifist, "I have been preaching, 'Love your enemies,' but now I would blow out the brains of every German I met." Another Christian worker,

with deep discouragement, declared, "I am more of an atheist than anything else." Still another preacher, "Frankly, I don't carry a New Testament around with me any more." During the same period I had conference with a gifted minister whose writings on the subject of love have been read around the world. As I pled for churchly effort to neutralize the spirit of hate, then rampant, his face became as flint.

Previous to leaving England, in 1920, I met an Englishwoman who was speaking of the many churches in Great Britain that were adorned with tablets erected to the memory of soldiers and sailors. She quoted an East Indian, who had been visiting in England:

"I see," he said, "in your cathedrals and churches that practically all the memorial tablets are dedicated to sailors and soldiers."

This woman told of a conversation she had had with the minister of a church she had been looking over some time before. She asked him if, with the many memorials within it dedicated to warriors, there were any tablets erected to the memory of conscientious objectors to military service who, as she expressed it, were men who had been put to death because of their adherence to the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount? The minister quickly responded, "No, not one!"

When I crossed the Atlantic, in 1916, divine service was held on the ship one quiet Sabbath

morning. We were near the submarine zone. The service was conducted by an English clergyman; I delivered the address. His prayer was pungent. Although numerous English and Canadian officers were present, I preached the gospel of peace. No one attacked me. A Canadian afterwards said, "Mr. Allen, did you notice the difference between the prayer and your sermon?" I had. Several of the Canadian and English passengers subsequently thanked me for my words. Often have I found that some members of the laity, while cautious as to public expression, have not followed the militant official war pronouncements of their churches.

CHAPTER XVII

CHURCHLY REPENTANCE

At a conference of the World Alliance for International Friendships through the Churches held in Switzerland, 1920, words of profound sorrow because of the sins of humanity were freely expressed. At the first devotional gathering of the conference, when church leaders from twenty-three different countries were present, a Danish brother led in prayer. He used the English language. His broken petition for forgiveness on account of the war culminated in the exclamation, "O Lord, we thank Thee that Thou art not yet tired of us."

After an address I had made in 1919 at a large meeting of ministers in Australia, many of the men expressed their satisfaction with what I said. They were sick of war. Referring to their unwillingness to offer peace deliverances when the war had been in progress, a clergyman said:

We have been disillusioned. In the old days the soldiers went down the streets dressed in gay uniforms, marching to music, with banners flying, but it is all different now. Now we know what war is. The soldier is a butcher; he puts on his apron and goes out to kill. He gets all covered with blood. We know now what war is!

I myself would not venture to use such language, knowing as I do how many young men with high hopes and with a profound sense of patriotism, feeling that they were being led into a righteous cause have gone into the battle field; but I can quote the above expressions of one who represented the post-war thought among many of the clergy in those countries that have been most terribly desolated by war. Since the Armistice, in many countries, I have addressed synods, assemblies, conferences, societies, Rotary clubs, called meetings of ministers and others, and afterwards there have been, with broken words, confessions of sorrow because of their participation in war.

Strong talk was heard in some ecclesiastical circles. At the Wesleyan Methodist Conference held in Hull, England, July 15, 1920, Dr. J. T. Wardle Stafford, in his presidential address, was reported as declaring, "It was the Church's solemn duty to throttle militarism . . . Let those who wanted war, fight. [Applause.] A week in the trenches would convert most of them."

The editor of *The Churchman* (New York) November 12, 1921, spoke thus of the responsibility of the churches in connection with war:

The churches among all the warring nations, shared the sins of their governments during the war. We hated as our governments bade us hate. We spread lies about our enemies as those lies were

meted out to us in official propaganda. We taught unforgiveness even as our rulers and diplomats inspired us to do.

The Friend (London) reports the following:

One of the most popular British chaplains in the war was G. A. Studdert Kennedy, familiarly known as "Woodbine Willie." Addressing a bicentenary meeting in London the other day (1921) he acknowledged his former mistaken enthusiasm for the war, in the days when he encouraged the troops to fight, "on the ground that they were fighting for freedom and honor." He now knew, he said, that it was nothing of the kind. What he should have known and what they should all have known, was that there was no freedom to be won by the sword, no honor to be vindicated by it, and no peace to be got out of it. It could only lead to more and worse disasters.

The pronouncements of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America have frequently since the Armistice been vigorously condemnatory of war. In an address "To all who love our Lord Jesus," issued during the latter part of 1921, the Council averred:

Let us declare plainly that in every war the Son of Man is put to shame anew and that every battle field is a Calvary on which Christ is crucified afresh.

This is a book on war—otherwise I would gladly tell of the splendid attitude with respect to international peace assumed by the churches of America, the past few years.

160 CHURCHLY REPENTANCE

Since 1920, not a few church leaders of the United States have publicly declared that they will not support another war. Will they with fortitude be able to adhere to this decision? I believe that many of them will.

CHAPTER XVIII

DISSENTIENTS

One day in Germany, during the Great War, the civilian head physician of a field hospital remarked at mess:

The violation of Belgian neutrality, the use of poison gases, and the torpedoing of merchant ships were at one and the same time moral delinquencies and inexpressible stupidities. Sooner or later they would cause the downfall of Germany.

Efforts were made to prosecute him, but the Kaiser personally pleaded on his behalf. This bold man was Professor Georg Fr. Nicolai, one of the most popular doctors of Berlin. But he was degraded to be simply an ambulance man. Soon his *Biology of War* appeared. The military authorities then took him in hand. He was ordered to train, but refused to do so. Finally he fled to Denmark in an airplane.

Some German peace advocates, such as Dr. Muehlon, one time director of Krupp's got across the border into Switzerland. His book, *The Vandal of Europe*, is a powerful attack on militarism. The gifted Romain Rolland of France, winner of the Nobel Prize, was compelled to do

likewise. But how about the churches or church people who did not approve of war?

England and America had their clerical martyrs. For instance, a gospel minister of California was illegally imprisoned and after cruel hardships released by the Supreme Court of the state. Others shared a similar fate. Some were vilified by former friends and members of their congregations. They were lied about, yet few dared to contradict the falsehoods uttered against them. Some, in America, were ousted from their pulpits. They had no Switzerland to go to. While the President in choicest English, was avowing the need of America expending her blood and treasure to secure liberty abroad, liberty was being miserably abused in America.

Unknown to most people in the United States, there were instances of people in enemy countries publicly protesting against the war while it was in progress. The kindly spirit of some of our foes was carefully withheld from America by censorship.

Three years preceding the world cataclysm—February 6, 1911—on the occasion of the visit of church leaders of Germany to England, a meeting was held in Queen's Hall, London. Speeches against war were delivered by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Southwark, Dr. Clifford, all known in church circles throughout the English-speaking world, as well as by Dr. Spiecker

and Professor Harnack, equally known in church circles of Europe. Magnificent addresses breathed the spirit of Christian fellowship and love. The Archbishop in his opening speech declared:

We are here as men, and consist of an association of men, who believe in the power of the Holy Spirit of God to vivify us or vivify in us as Christians the spirit of Christian Brotherhood under the Everlasting Father in Whom we trust.

Professor Harnack, in a beautiful sermon on "The Fruits of the Spirit"—love, joy, peace—declared:

Jesus Christ proclaimed that we are all children of one Father, and therefore should love one another as brothers.

The Bishop of Southwark affirmed that there is "a higher ideal than that of competition—an ideal of mutual help, mutual honor, and mutual love." Both the Archbishop of Canterbury and Dr. Spiecker of Germany tenderly spoke of the preceding day when the British king had referred to the hospitality that had been extended by the Emperor of Germany a year previous to a visiting British church delegation at Potsdam. The Archbishop told about the German and English ecclesiastical leaders who had knelt side by side to offer their prayers, and how they had joined in singing the hymn:

Lord of our life and God of our salvation,
Star of our night, and Hope of every nation;

Hear and receive thy Church's supplication,
Lord God Almighty.
Grant Peace on earth and after we have striven,
Peace in thy Heaven.

These brotherly discourses three years afterward (1914) went to smash. Much has been the repentance since!

A proclamation was issued by Protestant clergy of Berlin and Hanover in the early part of 1918, the occasion being the anniversary of the Reformation. It was published in the widely read *The Christian* of England, April 18, 1918. As far as I know, no American paper referred to it—how scared because of espionage and propaganda were most American periodicals at that time! It recognized that Christian brotherhood should be above nationalism. This deliverance excited widespread interest and was signed by hundreds of ministers in all parts of the German Empire. It appeared as a ray of light in the spiritual darkness then enveloping Europe.

We, German Protestants, conscious of Christian principles and aims, heartily stretch out a brotherly hand to all co-religionists including those of enemy countries. We recognize as the deepest causes of this war the anti-Christian powers dominating the lives of the people, e.g., suspicion. On mutual agreement and reconciliation is, in our opinion, the peace that must be brought about. We believe that the chief obstacles to an honest understanding among nations is the pernicious rule of lies and phrases,

through which Truth is silenced or distorted, only spreading delusion and folly; and we call on all, in every country, to wish for peace, to stand up and resolutely combat this obstacle. Faced by this terrible war, we feel it to be a conscientious duty to strive henceforth, in the name of Christianity with all determination, to eradicate war from the world as a means of settling disputes among nations.

A reply to the above was sent by two hundred eighty clergy and ministers of England, according to the *London Friend* (November 1, 1918). This response was signed by Anglicans, Presbyterians, Baptists, Congregationalists, Calvinists, United and Wesleyan Methodists, Unitarians, Primitive Methodists, and the United Free Church of Scotland. This fearless attempt to extend the spirit of reconciliation in both England and Germany and elsewhere, was offered at a time when the passions associated with the conflict had reached their peak.

An extraordinary dissent against war is found in a little book, published in England in 1917. (Imagine an American publisher being permitted to issue a similar production during the same period.) It was called *The Agony of the Church*. The author was Dr. Nicolai Velimirovio, of St. Savva's College, Serbia, which country at that time was bitterly engaged in the struggle in behalf of the Allies. Father Nicolai is of the Greek Church. He contended that "the Church has missed her high calling because she has been

captured by the world, whose spirit has become her spirit." He said:

When the Austrian Government declared war on Serbia, the Church of Austria adopted the standpoint of the Austrian Government as the right one. The Serbian Church adopted the standpoint of the Serbian Government, of course, as the right one. So it happened that the churches in Austria and Serbia prayed to the same God and against each other. The Church of Germany stood up against the Church of Russia because the German Government stood up against the Russian Government. . . . And so it happened that the churches of Germany and Russia prayed to the same God for each other's destruction. The churches of France, England, Belgium, and Italy have fully recognized the justice of the Governments of France, England, Belgium, and Italy concerning the war of those countries against other countries, whose justice, on the other hand, has been fully recognized by their Churches. What is the consequence if a worldly church adopts the standpoint of a worldly government as the true one? It means practically nothing else but that the church recognizes that standpoint as the Christian one. Now, if the German policy is right, the German Church is right, and, consequently, the Russian Church is wrong; and, on the other hand, if the Russian policy is right the Russian Church is right, and consequently the German Church is wrong. (Similarly with all other governments and churches.) . . . Future generations will, I hope, be more truly Christian than we have been.

Who will have the courage of Father Nicolai?

CHAPTER XIX

WAGE EARNERS

In 1915, after I had addressed an American labor union on internationalism, a member was heard to say, "What Mr. Allen said is all true, but I hope the war won't stop until I get through with some work I have on hand."

That man was a profiteer, almost!

Since the Great War, when conversing with wage earners in different countries, who were in the fighting forces, I have discovered that often there was a deep-seated resentment against their governments, their officers, the folks at home who in safety "fought with their mouths," and the whole system of conscription and conflict. They say that they have learned that their bodies had been seized—drafted—by men who would not personally fight, but who get the prestige and the plunder. These privates, or non-commissioned officers, felt that they were the victims of capitalists or manufacturers who, backed up by the military system, were seeking trade in remote parts of the world. Their submissive comrades, who heroically paid the price of death, who, when receiving orders to enter a hopeless charge would exclaim, "This is my death warrant," will never

return to protest against their sacrifice on the altar of the ambitions of other men.

One day in England, in 1916, I saw at a Midland Railway country station some forty men apparently farm laborers, with unwilling steps, trailing at the heels of a young sergeant as he pompously led them as so many sheep to the slaughter. They had not yet donned their khaki. All were poorly attired. All looked crestfallen and scared. A frightened woman clung piteously to one of them while waiting for the train to carry them away. What were their thoughts? What did "king and country" mean to them? Why should they thus be led off to kill other poor from other lands who had never done them wrong? Did such reflections as these claim them? The physically best men of England had been taken before, these I saw looked like the human dregs of the countryside. They were simply compelled to follow the choicer cannon fodder that already had been offered at the gates of Mars. Understand, I am not a Socialist when I thus speak. I speak as a conservative in political, financial, and religious matters.

When I was in "merrie England" in 1920—England is not always "merrie," but I love her—a change had come over the scene. Labor, which had been so foolishly beguiled at the beginning, was getting another viewpoint of war. The days of the big wages, of riding to work in taxies, of

traveling first-class, of buying rich jewelry had gone. Homes were depleted, hundreds of thousands of wage earners had been killed, fatherless children must be cared for, wages were dropping, even decent bread was scarce. Ah! the British work people, who had had no more wisdom than to think greedily that somehow they would profit by the war, as they had listened to its apologists and advocates, found themselves at the last very much disillusioned.

The cost of international conflict ultimately falls on the poorer people. No increase in wages or salaries can compensate them, no inflation subsequent to war can clear them of the extra expenses of living, of the hidden or open taxation to which war eventually subjects them.

In the summer of 1920 there was much talk abroad regarding the possibility of England actively participating in a new war with Russia. Already stores and munitions had been sent to Poland to be applied to the conflict that Poland was waging against her big neighbor. British labor, surfeited with war, determined to counter the demand from influential quarters that the Empire be thrust into new horrors because of the English Government's sympathy with Poland and its desire to break the Soviet administration in Russia. The history of Labor at that period shows the possibilities of maintaining peace when the plain people organize to do so.

On August 6, 1920, a manifesto to the British nation was issued through the newspapers declaring that Labor would not coöperate if war were declared. This document was signed by leading labor leaders, including members of Parliament. It said in part:

In our judgment there is no possibility of any whole-hearted coöperation between the organized work people and the government if and when any effort is made to involve us in another calamitous war.

On the same date we read in the London press:

Portsmouth dockers demonstrated outside the yard during the dinner hour yesterday against the idea of war with Soviet Russia and passed a resolution calling on the government not to supply men and munitions to Poland.

The fearless ground taken by men who a few years previously would have been branded as "disloyal" for opposing the ministry is indicated in the telegram sent on the same day by Ben Turner, of the Textile Workers' Federation, to the premier. Referring to the French bondholders' interest in the destruction of the Soviet government, Turner advised Lloyd George, "Let the Frenchmen fight if they want to."

A few days subsequent to these protests, I read in a London newspaper that "Labor had decided that there shall be no British war against Russia."

The National Conference of Trade Unions,

convened by the Labor Council of Action, representing over 6,000,000 workers, had the previous day with complete unanimity declared that it would "resist any and every form of military and naval intervention."

There came the following dispatch from France:

The greatest demonstration ever held in Paris is taking place in protest against the policy of the French Foreign Office.

Meanwhile the Labor Council of Action was busy, had an interview with the British premier which contributed to the prevention of a declaration of open conflict. The government backed down and subsequently disclaimed intent to engage in war with Russia.

About one week after these events, J. R. Clynes, M.P., President of the National Federation of General Workers, in the Hall of Oriel College, Oxford, discussed the growing influence of labor on foreign policy. He said in part:

Labor refuses to be dragged into partnership in support of commitments privately arranged either for Imperialist or Capitalist purposes. Labor is bound to resist the old governing tradition and methods of diplomatic action. In such a supreme matter as peace or war, Labor is justified in using its industrial strength on the side of peace when no political remedy can avail to make statesmen put the interests of the peoples before the material interests of class in any country.

These occurrences established a precedent which the working classes in their own interest in every country—even if insidiously misled by future propaganda—can follow if they will. If the “workers,” for any reason whatsoever, absolutely refuse to be led into battle, no power can lead them there.

Near the close of 1914, I was for three days on a British steamship on the Yangtze River, China. I sat at the captain’s table, but that official did not seem to see me or others present at the table, so I kept “mum.” At the last meal he looked over to me, as he arose from the table, and in a tone of abject despair exclaimed, “I wonder when this war will stop?”

“Captain,” I answered, “I think I can tell how to stop the war.”

“How?” he demanded.

“Captain,” I replied, “I would take the Czar of Russia, the Emperor of Austria, the Kaiser of Germany, the President of France, and the King of England, and have each man take his premier, then have each premier select an armament manufacturer. That would make three men from each country. I would give each crew a machine gun, and have them go down to some nice, quiet meadow about six o’clock in the evening, put them 200 feet apart and tell them to blaze away at each other. I guarantee they would find some way of fixing up their difficulties in five minutes!”

The Captain looked transfixed, his eyes nearly jumped out of his head, and with a big voice he exclaimed, "I believe you are about right!" I never saw him again.

Most wealthy families, in all countries, can to some extent afford the financial losses incurred as a consequence of war; they may lose their sons and part of their money, and still be financially secure. It is different with the families of the poorer classes, who constitute the great mass of the population. When fathers or sons are killed in action, or weakened for life by wounds or disease, no governmental support can begin to compensate the families of the wage earners. Their chief asset has been taken from them. The hard struggle for a livelihood of such families is intensified by the depletion of their family power, physically and spiritually.

In 1870, Dr. Russell, the *London Times* correspondent, wrote from the battle field of Sedan:

Let your readers fancy masses of colored rags glued together with blood and brains, and pinned into strange shapes by fragments of bones. Let them conceive men's bodies without heads, legs without bodies lying about in all attitudes with skulls shattered, faces blown off, hips smashed, bones, flesh, and gay clothing all pounded together as if brayed in a mortar, extending for miles, not very thick in any one place, but recurring perpetually for weary hours, and then they cannot, with the most vivid imagination, come up to the sickening reality of that butchery.

That is what becomes of the sons of the poor, mostly the poor, when they are sent to war! Resolutions do not count for much. War, with all its agony, awaits wage earners everywhere unless governments slow down on preparedness and the workers insist that the war makers themselves first go to the front. When the war makers have gone to the front, it will be time enough for the breadwinners to follow and be broken, mangled and starved and have their family strength and efficiency depleted in the insatiable jaws of Mars! Otherwise what will they get? "Why, war, taxes, wooden legs and debt!"

CHAPTER XX

SOME IRONICS

One of the funny things in the early part of the period after America entered the war was the way in which "patriotism" and love of the almighty dollar became mixed. To illustrate: It was proposed to establish a training camp near a city which we shall call Gloryville. For a long time the certainty of the camp being located near Gloryville hung in the balance and frantic were the appeals through a newspaper of that enthusiastic city for funds wherewith to make sure of securing its proximity. The Gloryville folks were liberally fed with "news" indicating the unhappy possibility if the camp were established near some other city:

Gloryville is profiting very largely now by the presence of 2500 men in the near-by camp and will profit to a much greater extent when 40,000 men are stationed in the camp. The average pay of the men is \$50 a month, which means a monthly pay roll of \$2,500,000, if there are only 50,000 men stationed there. Every man who comes will leave some money here, and so Gloryville is going to get an ever-increasing share of the business of this camp.

About the same time an enthusiastic Gloryville meeting to push the camp project was held and thus reported:

Stirring speeches pointed out the duty of the professional, commercial, and property interests at this time when the permanent location of the camp hangs in the balance were made.

Again in the Gloryville morning newspaper:

It is a matter of upholding the honor of this community! It is, moreover a patriotic call that every citizen should answer! Lastly, its commercial value to Gloryville and the valley generally is without comparison. Thousands on thousands of dollars will be spent by the soldiers here and every man, woman, and child in the community will receive just so many added benefits.

Financial "patriotism" flourishes luxuriantly in time of war!

I know a city in which a big meeting was held on behalf of the campaign for economy in the use of food—"Hooverizing"—at the time America was saving food, that she might send it abroad for the use of her allies. That evening—while millions of men were killing and starving—it was my lot to sit in the dining room of the largest hotel in the city in which the meeting was held and to observe near me a group of about thirty, including the speakers of the evening, having a royal time enjoying a fine course dinner. Political, educational, and social leaders from over the state were present. At the last moment, after the meeting hour had passed, these well-filled patriots left the bountiful dinner table, rushed to their automobiles, and were whisked over to the

big hall, where they proceeded to instruct the humble, waiting patriots how to get along with little food!

The irony of the food problem does not stop here. The London *Daily Telegraph*, September 24, 1920, told about the waste of food in Great Britain:

During the war, . . . the public firmly refused to eat vegetables. Tons of turnips were daily thrown into the dust cart. . . . Therein is the secret of the great neglect of vegetables in this country.

Truly this belated admission revealed a cynical side of international warfare. Allies of the United States refused to eat vegetables, and destroyed them. The United States ate vegetables, that they might send the Allies meat!

Meanwhile, King George of England—justly honored by almost all the people of America—was correcting wastefulness and introducing simplicity into the Royal household.

One day during the summer of 1916, the question as to how much prize money should be awarded to a certain lieutenant of the English Navy came up in Court. He was commander of a submarine that sank an enemy battleship in the Dardanelles. London newspapers alleged with much gusto how the lieutenant gave evidence about torpedoing this ship. There was considerable discussion regarding the number of men de-

stroyed, as the size of the bounty was dependent upon the number of men drowned. Had 600 or 700 men been destroyed? The judge of the court was reported as declaring:

I do not think this is a case where I ought to encourage any splitting of hairs. . . . I declare the number on board to be 700; nobody can say I am wrong, and I hope I am right [laughter]. The prize bounty awarded will be £3500.

In time of war all the combatants can drown hundreds of their fellow men as so many rats, and joke over it!

Meanwhile, prior to 1916—I say prior to 1916—America was pretty well inoculated with the belief, through carefully worded press reports, that Germany was doing the drowning with submarines, and that the allies were relatively innocent of that method of warfare.

“The killing of Germans is a divine service,” wrote a well-known archdeacon. I spare the use of a name, as I have sometimes done, to save his feelings. “Bayoneting the enemy is serving God,” wrote a distinguished German pastor—I also withhold his name for the same reason. With what glee the unregenerate have regarded such confusion in the clerical mind!

Some newspapers throughout the British Empire made fun of those who were unable to go to the front, or who were able to dodge going to the front, and who were perfectly willing to do all that

they possibly could to send others into the slaughter pen. This is from a Colonial paper:

The "highest ambition" of a president of a Chamber of Commerce not a thousand miles distant, is to "kill a German." Meanwhile, this valiant, like many others of the same courageous school, occupies the easiest lounge on the front veranda!

In 1919 I was asked to fill out a form seeking information regarding the character and ability of a man who was applying for a secretaryship in a great American organization devoted to human betterment, and among the questions was, "Is he a pacifist?" with other searching inquiries as to the danger of even his relatives holding principles of peace. I understand that since the piping days of peace came on that question has not been asked. I have regretted that such a question, with its implication of loyalty to government before loyalty to Jesus, should be required by an organization which stands for the spiritual and international ideals that the splendid group I refer to seeks to uphold. Reverently speaking, it would seem as if Christ, the Great Pacifist, we profess to follow, could not hold a secretaryship in many Christian societies in time of war.

In 1919 I was in the company of about one dozen army officers, including the commandant and chaplain of a federal prison. These gentlemen courteously discussed with me the ethics of war, admitting the anomaly found in the fact

that those who professed to be Christians are sometimes ready to punish and abuse those who are constrained to adhere to the principles of their Lord. But the chaplain seemed to be particularly aggrieved at my remarks, and desirous of justifying the sufferings that had been imposed in his prison on the C.O.'s. Finally I said to him, "According to your statement, if Jesus Christ were to come today over to the city and were to mount a soap box on the street and declare, 'I say unto you love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you,' you would take him, your Master, and put him in your dungeon for such seditious language."

The officers present shouted with laughter.

One day, during the summer of 1916, in London, when walking out Victoria Street from Westminster Abbey, I noticed within a stone's throw of that magnificent old structure, under the shadow of it, the offices of some of the great armament firms—John Brown & Company, Sir W. G. Armstrong, Whitworth & Company, Ltd., Vickers, etc. Then I remembered that shares in these huge concerns were held by prominent church members; that many priests of the Church in the name of Christ approve and honor the unholy use of the man-killing products of munition mills; that in Europe the Church has been the backbone of the war system, and that, week by week,

prayers have ascended from countless places of worship in the realm for triumph by the use of scientifically constructed slaughter machinery over the enemies of England. It seemed ironically appropriate that the offices of a business which, in the very nature of its expansion, operation, and desire for dividends contributes toward international jealousies and fears, should be nestled closely under the towers of the noble Abbey.

Again, one of those sunny afternoons that sometimes deluge grand old London with a sort of mystic beauty, I met, in one of the little parks opposite the Houses of Parliament and Westminster Abbey, three young soldiers and two girls enjoying the air. I entered into conversation with them and, after a few minutes, casually used the word, God. One of the boys jumped up from his seat and with flashing eyes exclaimed, "There is no God!" I quietly replied, "Oh, yes, there is a God." He repeated, "Don't talk to me that way. You know nothing about it. If you had suffered all I have suffered and seen all I have seen you would say there is no God! I have been at the Dardanelles and witnessed the most awful things. If there is a God, and he permits such things, I don't want such a God!"

I could only tell this boy that it was the wickedness of men, not the will of the Creator, that had introduced into the world the horrors he depicted. But as I spoke I looked beyond him, across the

broad square to the Houses of Parliament, where wars were declared; to the right was Westminster Abbey, a stronghold of the ecclesiastical system that aided and abetted war; just around the corner were the counting houses of armament companies; behind me was Whitehall, with its big war offices, and close by was Number 10, Downing Street, where rulers planned policies that might lead to the horrors of international strife. What spiritual show had that boy? The administrative, legislative, financial, military, naval, and churchly forces of his country—the country he loved—had combined to push him into activities that tended to wreck him body and spirit. So he had decided that he did not want a God! He was only one of untold numbers at that hour. Was his attitude ironic? Was it tragic?

Practically all the great capitals of Christendom now present duplicates of the situation I depict in London, namely, arrangements are made for the monstrous and merciless massacre of millions of men—women and children, also!

An English friend of mine has told the following: An Englishman was married when home on leave. Two days thereafter he was summoned from the arms of his young wife and went to the front. Two weeks afterward she received word to go at once to a certain military hospital in France. There she found her husband still alive, without arms, without legs and blind.

Meanwhile some women don uniforms and play war!

When there are millions of casualties, such incidents as the above constitute only a part of the hideous story. All this outrage on humanity is not the effect of accident, but is the result of a deliberate intention on the part of men to kill one another, and sometimes to decide—possibly in some “limitation of armament conference”—how the beastly job is to be done.

If you want to know what war is, go to some of the books written by British war correspondents, after the censorship had ceased. Those gifted and unafraid men have written with pens of fire of the very often stupid and cowardly, as well as brave, leadership and awful deeds that accompany human conflict.

Hamilton Fyfe, the great British war correspondent, author of *The Making of An Optimist* (Allen and Unwin, London), has written:

Wherever I went, France, Belgium, Russia, Poland, Roumania, Italy, Austria, there were the same terrified droves of men, women, and children, the same parents who had lost their little ones, the same wretchedness, uncertainty and grief. Among those who had the direction of the war I could no more discern real sympathy with these unhappy victims than they showed for another kind of sufferer; I mean those who were shot for what was called cowardice.

So twisted do men's minds become under the stress

of warlike emotion that the cold-blooded murder of lads whose nerves had given way was actually gloated over. Nothing was more revolting than the glee with which officers who had never been nearer the front than corps headquarters, spoke of these "executions."

When I think of the wastefulness of war, I recall vast areas of fertile country sown only with bullets, ploughed only by shells. I see villages shattered, towns scarred and ravaged, roads blown up, bridges in ruins. I see fields and orchards and woods where every tree had been cut down or reduced by wanton burning to a charred and blackened stump.

I remember how I saw thirty million pounds' worth of oil destroyed in Roumania, and how the British military pundits wanted the masses of grain in that country to be destroyed as well. I recollect bombardments that lasted for hours and had very little effect beyond that of wasting the money which we are painfully paying back now by the most burdensome taxation our land has ever known.

During the Napoleonic Wars a delegation of French Scientists visited London and, on that occasion, Sir Humphry Davy, the distinguished chemist of his day, proclaimed that, although Europe was then engaged in war, science remained international, science knew no boundary lines, science invited the coöperation and friendship of other lands, science engaged in honorable competition on behalf of humanity.

To a large extent the thought of Sir Humphry Davy is reversed today. Of recent years many scientists have become the pliable agents of gov-

ernments, before or when engaged in international conflict. Think of the high explosives, the suffocating gases, the scientifically constructed machinery and armaments which, since 1914, have been devoted to the extension of human suffering and woe. Think of the international friendships which today are weakened because of declarations made by military experts that the hidden inventions and energies of nature, as discovered by chemistry, will make future wars more horrible than any that have preceded them.

A woman bears a precious little one. She coddles it within her bosom. She thinks of the day when her boy shall have become the joy of her heart. The young mother of the modern world, as she fondles her child, may pause and ponder. Chemistry is declared to conceal within its laboratories secrets which will blight the hopes of womanhood, strangle and mutilate the sons, who, in their helpless babyhood, were dandled on their father's knees. Small wonder is it that some eminent chemists of Great Britain have recently protested that their noble profession is prostituted, when devoted to sanguinary ends. Science has accomplished magnificent achievements on behalf of children and humanity; how ironical is the fact that it is also applied to the wholesale destruction of mankind!

Is it an ironical fact that peoples, professing to be civilized, fail to demand imperatively of their

rulers and profiteers that policies and preparedness, leading to wars, must cease?

William S. Scott, in "The Betrayal of Christianity" in the *Cambridge Magazine*, December, 1914, has said:

The names of those who have died on the fields of battle are posted in the vestibules of our churches under the heading "The Roll of Honor," and the names of those enlisting week by week are read out from the pulpits throughout the land; and each individual as he goes forth musket in hand, determined to kill or be killed, is prayed for, that the war god may be with him, follow him into the battle, give "strength to his arms," as he bayonets his adversary, and "success to his cause," so that, after taking the life of his victim, he may return to give thanks unto God. And all this in the name of Christianity! O Christ, Thou Prince of Peace who didst Thyself seek to make for us the crooked straight and the rough places plain, after nearly two thousand years, is this how Thy ministers interpret Thy teachings?

Is there no irony in this?

CHAPTER XXI

FORGIVENESS

An English friend of mine told me the following incident which occurred during the Great War. He knew the facts, since he was an intimate personal friend of the officer commanding the British troops referred to.

Early in the campaign Christmas Eve fell, on a cold starlit night. Both sides, English and German, were holding the trenches in the opposing lines. All were on the watch. Suddenly there rose on the air the strains of a Christmas song in the German camp and there amid the scenes of carnage came the music associated with the gospel of peace. The English joined in and very soon all animosity was forgotten and men of the conflicting forces were fraternizing in the Christmas spirit. An agreement was entered into that those who actually participated in this fraternizing would try to avoid inflicting any injury upon each other. But the Germans said that probably they would be changed next day and their places taken by a regiment from another part of the German Empire. Whether this was so or not, it was reported that the firing from both sides when hostilities were resumed, was high and practically purposeless. The authorities on both sides, however, finding that the fraternizing had lessened the hostile feelings, took good care that nothing of the sort ever happened again.

Non-forgiveness never pays. International failure to forgive, because of its vast area, is the worst of all. It is like a hideous sore. You cauterize it, you think it has been healed. Then possibly some politician makes a jingoistic speech, a newspaper indulges in slurs about some other country; resentments are again created, old wounds are reopened. You cannot afford to sustain international antipathies, you must, on behalf of human safety, forgive.

A workingman wrote in the *London Daily Telegraph*, September 13, 1920:

The Church has failed, but not Christianity. Is the Church going to fail again? . . . Up to the present the Church has done little to justify the belief that it has thrown its disguises permanently aside and is no longer prepared to drag at the coat tails of statesmen. When does the Church propose to reintroduce the doctrine of forgiveness into its teaching and explain why it became inoperative as soon as the test came for it to be applied internationally?

In the years 1914-15 I was in China, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand, and met with eminent statesmen, church people, and missionaries in those countries. I was brought into contact with some of their leading politicians and financial men as well as some of their humbler folk. One thing mightily impressed me. From not one of the Japanese did I hear a single word of disrespect or depreciation of their foes. But

when Hongkong, Australia, and New Zealand were reached all was changed. Bitterness and hate were everywhere. The contrast with respect to attitude toward their enemies, between the non-Christian and Christian lands, was startling. Why?

The only reason I can assign is that when those who profess Christ turn from obedience to the spirit of the teaching of their Lord they are left in greater spiritual darkness than are those who have not professed his name.

During much foreign travel since the Great War I have everywhere discovered among the clergy an enlarging spirit of forgiveness toward one-time enemies. If words of forgiveness fall from the lips of eminent soldiers, and such has been the case since the Great War, should not others preach the same? If a propaganda of hate was required to deceive men and make them willing to destroy one another is not a propaganda of love overwhelmingly necessary if the world is to be created anew? Is not human nature on our side? Is not humanity built for coöperation, service, love?

In the autumn of 1920 I traveled across France, where for many miles blasted trees and broken cities bore silent testimony to terrible violation of the commands of Jesus. But where men had shamefully wounded the Great Creator had already commenced to heal. Young trees were

tossing their pretty leaves in the sweet south wind. The gleaners were following an abundant harvest. God had already pardoned the desecration of His beautiful handiwork. He had again come with blessing to gracious Mother Earth who did not resist His gifts. So should men forgive each other and bear witness to the beauty of the things of peace.

CHAPTER XXII

THE AFTERMATH

I have compiled this book with the hope that our English-speaking peoples may more clearly understand the nature of modern warfare. Will they unite to suppress it?

Only a spiritual awakening on the part of Christendom will release civilization from the shackles of war. It is uncertain how effective will prove the machinery for the preservation of international concord—this machinery is none too strong at the very best. Excuses to break treaties are easily discovered. The forces demanding the maintenance of armies and navies will continue to be very powerful. While we glorify all efforts on behalf of international peace, it is of supreme importance that the next generation—the plain citizenship—be instructed as to what is behind the smoke screen of war.

The awful realities and sufferings connected with the aftermath of war have hardly been known to the people of America. The world has understood them and partaken of the bitter cup to the very dregs. A London newspaper, *The Daily Express*, August 10, 1923, thus summed up the

disillusions that have succeeded the world-wide anarchy of war:

At the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month of 1923 the Great Silence will mark our Sixth Armistice Day. Five years—of what? Illusions, dreams, myths, fables, fallacies. Pathetic illusions! Tragic dreams! Heartbreaking myths! Gloomy fables! Somber fallacies! Where are they now? Gone.

The dead years have buried their dead. The Treaty of Versailles is a festering corpse. . . . All the bombastical rhetoric is stale. All the paper plans are lying in the gutter.

THE AUTHOR OF

WAR! Behind the Smoke Screen



Writer, traveler, lecturer, student of social, racial, and international problems—this is William C. Allen. For the past twenty years, he has devoted his time to the study of the problems mentioned and to the relief of human distress. He has visited many foreign countries, and has made two trips around the world since the Great War. In his travels abroad, he has addressed educational institutions, large and small groups of various denominations, missions, clubs, chambers of commerce, etc. To create a spirit of lasting friendship between the various countries has been his constant aim.

Mr. Allen has conferred with foreign premiers, church leaders, and newspapermen; he has visited leper settlements and has crawled into the huts of the natives of Africa.

Articles from his pen have appeared frequently in the pages of numerous religious publications in America and his work has had the endorsement of the religious bodies of our country. Mr. Allen's unique experiences have created within him a profound sympathy for the plain people of many lands who, directly or indirectly, suffer from the practice of war.

The author relates many personal observations in **WAR! BEHIND THE SMOKE SCREEN** and he reveals numerous facts that are not generally known to the public.

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